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A SELECTION

FROM THE

Miscellaneous Historical Papers of Fifty Years

BY

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER

New Haven, Connecticut
1918

One hundred and fifty copies
privately printed
by
The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Company
New Haven

TO

T. M. D.

"It is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not."

2 Corinthians, viii, 12.

PREFACE.

The following papers are brought together, in the hope that they may have some interest for future students, as well as for a few personal friends; such friends the author can trust to absolve him from the charge of vanity in this step, which is taken with some misgivings, and which may be an example of mistaken judgment.

The opportunity has been used in a few instances to amend or add to statements of fact in the original editions.

New Haven, Connecticut,
December, 1918

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HARVARD-COLLEGE MONITOR'S BILL.

[From the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for December, 1868.]

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	n 6	*m* 7	*n* 7	*m* 1	*con* 1	*con* 2	*n* 1	*m* 2	*n* 2	*m* 3	*n* 3	*m* 4	*n* 4	*m* 5	*n* 5
NOWELL												A	A	T	
FLYNT	A	A										A	A	T	
PYNCHON	A		A	A						A		A		A	
BRACKENBURI	A	A	A	A					A	A	A	A	A	A	A
WOODBRIDG	A	A	A	A					A			A			A
ESTABROOK									A						
STREET			T					A		A		A	A	A	A
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RICHERDSŌ															
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ATKINSON	A	A	A												
FOSTER	A							A	A		A				
NOYCE	A	A							A						

The paper copied above was found, Sept. 20, 1867, in a Latin Commentary on the Minor Prophets, which forms one of a series by Rudolph Walther, the Swiss Protestant Theologian, in Yale College Library. The volume (of which the title is "In Prophetas Duodecim quos vocant Minores, Rodolphi Gualtheri Tigurini Homiliæ. Editio tertia. Tiguri, MDLXXII." Folio.) was supposed by President Stiles to have been among the books given to the Library at its foundation, and the foundation of the College, in 1701, by the Reverend Abraham Pierson, of Killingworth (Harv. Coll. 1668), the first Rector.

Within these leaves, the paper now brought to light has quite probably lain unmolested for over two centuries. One might describe it, physically, as a yellow fragment of coarse paper, about five inches by four, with three of its edges cut true by the knife, and the fourth torn off irregularly. The writing upon it is a list of twenty-three surnames, with various marks entered under abbreviated headings, in carefully ruled columns, against each name. A little attention will satisfy one that the list is a list of the twenty-three students who were in Harvard College during some one week of the academical year 1663-4, representing the classes of 1664, 1665, 1666, and 1667.

The manuscript has no divisions into classes; but, on comparing the Triennial, the first seven names here are seen to be the surnames of the seven graduates of 1664, arranged in the order in which the catalogue gives them, being that of family rank. Next are the Juniors, class of 1665, who graduated eight; two of which graduates, however (Gov. Joseph Dudley and Samuel Bishop), were not present when this list was used. The manuscript gives us the remaining six in the order of the Triennial Catalogue, and also one additional non-graduate member (Jacoms), of whose death in Senior year there is record elsewhere. Next on the paper are the names of six Sophomores, of whom four only graduated in 1666. The two extra names are Pynchon and Browne. Savage (Genealogical Dict., iii. 498) shows that a John Pynchon was two years at Harvard, without graduating, at about this period: Browne it may be difficult to trace. In this class, apparently, an occasion for the not unknown punishment of "degradation" arose, before the end of the course. In the printed catalogue, the rank of Filar and Mason is altered from that seen here. Three names finish the list, which are found in the same order in the class which graduated in 1667, though by that time four others had added themselves to that class; one of whom was John Harriman, the son of the New-Haven inn-holder, who seems from this to have had, not only his preparatory, but some of his academical, training, in New Haven.

We have, then, out of our list of twenty-three, twenty who reach graduation, and three who drop out before taking their degrees; while the corresponding classes, as graduated, number twenty-six.

The columns of marks come next: in general, it may be said at once, that the bill has a certain family likeness to the modern monitor's bill. Over each column is a number, and a letter or letters. The first column is numbered 6, then follow 7, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. From this it appears that the range of the numbers was from 1 to 7: evidently, they stand for the seven days of the week. The letters above each number are *m* and *n*. Thus the first column is *n* 6, the next *m* 7, the next *n* 7, the next *n* 1. *M* and *n* very probably stand for morning and night (in the Latin forms perhaps); so that *m* 7 and *n* 7 mean morning and evening prayers on Saturday. This disposes of all abbreviations over the columns, except the two which intervene between *m* 1 and *n* 1; that is between morning and evening prayers on Sunday. There are *con* 1 and *con* 2, clearly for some such word as *concio,* used for religious meeting. It is noticeable that these two services are better attended by far than any other service on the bill.

The record begins with a Friday evening (*n* 6), and the leaf is torn off abruptly at *n* 5, or the next Thursday evening; so that it contains only the account of attendance at fourteen separate services. Part of the record below *n* 5 is gone. The marks given are with a capital A and T, which, of course, stand for Absent and Tardy (perhaps in the Latin forms).

On holding the paper to the light, one sees that the record was taken in the old fashion used in England to this day, a pin-hole being made to denote absence, and a second pin-hole added if the student came in later; the marks A and T were written subsequently with ink. Sometimes, we see mistakes were made, and the tell-tale pin-holes laboriously smoothed over until they have *almost* disappeared.

In this short week, from Friday to Thursday, there is unfortunately but one of the twenty-three scholars, a Sophomore, who is entirely punctual. It should be added, that he became a minister, and did not die young. As might be supposed, the Seniors are, on the average, the least regular, and the Freshmen most so. The most irregular attendant, however, is one Jacoms, whose name stands after Chischaui, at the foot of the Junior class. Chischaui (or Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck) is the sole Indian graduate of Harvard; and Gookin, in his Historical Collections of the Indians in New England (Mass. Hist. Coll., I. i. 173), tells the story of Joel (here by his surname Jacoms), and his violent death in the later part of his Senior year.

Of these twenty-three scholars, the residences of all except Browne are known. Seventeen were from the immediate neighborhood, within a radius of fifteen miles; the two brothers Pynchon from Springfield; the two Indians from Martha's Vineyard; and the remaining one from the distant New-Haven colony. This was Samuel Street, of the Senior class, only son of the Rev. Nicholas Street, the colleague and successor of Davenport, in the ministry of the First Church of New Haven, from 1659 to 1674. The son was one of the earliest teachers of the New-Haven Hopkins Grammar School, and then pastor in the adjoining town of Wallingford for over forty years, leaving a line of descendants who have remained until our time. Two others on the list, besides Samuel Street, were to become Connecticut pastors; John Woodbridge at Killingworth and Wethersfield, and Nicholas Noyes at Haddam. Other conspicuous names are here: Eliot, the youngest son of the Apostle to the Indians; and Flynt, who became the father of the more noted "permanent tutor Flynt," who we may remember was invited in 1718 to become Rector of the newly named Yale College, but wisely preferred his easier berth at Cambridge.

The chief question that remains is, How did this scrap of paper come to New Haven? But only conjectures can be given in answer. We know that, at the date of the bill, the college Faculty consisted of President Chauncy and two or three tutors, or fellows. The Corporation Records extant are too meagre even to show the names of the tutors. It is quite likely that this Monitor's Bill went to the President, and was slipped into one of the books of his library. It is also possible that after his death, in 1672, this book may have been published by Abraham Pierson, one of his later pupils, of the class of 1668, and by him have been given (as President Stiles asserts) for "founding a college in this colony."

It may be added that the handwriting on the bill is not that of President Chauncy; also, that it is rather remarkable that the volume in which it was found contains no autograph or indication of its various possessors, from its birth at Zurich to its landing-place in the hands of Dr. Stiles.

The Library of Yale College, it may be stated in closing, has, among other like relics, three interesting books from the respective libraries of the three most famous Presidents of Harvard College during the seventeenth century.

First is a copy of the earliest English translation of Euclid's Elements (by Henry Billingsley, London, 1570), with "Henrici Dunsteri liber . . . price thirty shillings," on the titlepage. Then a "Summa Casuum Conscientiæ," with President Chauncy's auto-

graph and motto (also in his own hand), "Qui auget scientiam, auget et dolorem." And last, the copy of Keckermann's "Systema Logicæ," from which Increase Mather studied; and in which he left numerous signatures, dated in 1654 and 1656 (his Sophomore and Senior years), with specimens of boyish scribbling.

NEW HAVEN, March 30, 1868.

NOTE.—To facilitate comparisons, the following list of graduates, with the dates of their deaths, so far as known, is subjoined:—

1664.	Deceased.
Alexander Nowell, A.M., Fellow,	1672
Rev. Josiah Flint, A.M.,	1680
Joseph Pynchon, A.M., Fellow,	1682
Samuel Brackenbury, A.M.,	1678
Rev. John Woodbridge, A.B.	1690
Rev. Joseph Estabrook, A.M.,	1711
Rev. Samuel Street, A.B.,	1717
1665.	
Benjamin Eliot, A.M.,	1687
Joseph Dudley, A.M., Chief Justice of New York, and Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire,	1720
Samuel Bishop, A.B.,	1687
Edward Mitchelson, A.B.,	
Rev. Samuel Man, A.B.,	1719
Rev. Hope Atherton, A.B.,	1677
Rev. Jabez Fox, A.M.,	1703
	Deceased.
Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck, A.B., (Indian),	1666
1666.	
Joseph Browne, A.M., Fellow,	1678
Rev. John Richardson, A.M., Fellow,	1696
Daniel Mason, A.B.,	
John Filer, A.B.,	1723
1667.	
Rev. John Harriman, A.M.,	1705
Nathaniel Atkinson, A.B.,	
John Foster, A.B.,	1681
Rev. Gershom Hobart, A.M.,	1707
Japhet Hobart, A.B.,	
Rev. Nehemiah Hobart, A.M., Fellow,	1712
Rev. Nicholas Noyes, A.M. in 1716,	1717

MEMORANDA

RESPECTING

EDWARD WHALLEY AND WILLIAM GOFFE.

[From the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Vol. II, 1877. Read November, 1870.]

Rev. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, published at Hartford, in April, 1795, a "History of three of the Judges of King Charles I," which has been supposed to contain all that could ever be known about these worthies. But in 1868 the Massachusetts Historical Society printed in their Collections (4th Series, vol. viii), a series of manuscripts originally belonging to one of the three Judges, and not used by President Stiles. I would not, if I could, dispel the fascination of Dr. Stiles's book; but the new information[1] revives a local interest in the regicides, and my object is merely to sketch the personal history of Generals Whalley and Goffe.

The parents of Edward Whalley were Richard Whalley of Kirkton Hall, Nottinghamshire, a country member of Parliament in the last of Elizabeth's reign, and Frances Cromwell,[2] an aunt of the future Protector. The father's losses of property in litigation may have affected the career of the son, who first comes into notice in the civil war. His previous occupation is unknown, though the Royalist pamphlets gossip to the effect that he was "a woolen-draper, or petty merchant, in London; whose shop being out of sorts, and his cash empty, not having wherewithal to satisfy his creditors, he fled into Scotland for refuge, till the wars began." ("Second Narrative of the late Parliament," 1658, in Harleian Miscellany, iii, 482. Cf. "Treason Discovered," 1660.) Sir

[1] The originals are now a part of the Prince Library, and deposited in the Public Library of the City of Boston: Rev. Thomas Prince obtained them from the Mather family, with other manuscripts, hence called "Mather Papers."

[2] Frances was the second wife of Richard. Their eldest son was Thomas, who died May, 1637, before his father (leaving a son, Peniston Whalley, who died in 1672, aet. 48). Edward was their second son, and Henry their third. [Thoroton's Nottinghamshire, 2d ed., i, 249.]

Philip Warwick, in his memoirs of the reign of King Charles I (p. 307), more kindly describes him as "a ridiculous Phanatick, as well as a crack-brained fellow, though he was a Gentleman of a good family, of which sort of men they had very few among them." There is other testimony that he sided with Parliament from religious conviction, and in opposition to the sentiments of some of his nearest relatives. (See "Noble's Memoirs of the House of Cromwell.")

In the midsummer of 1642, "Mr. Oliver Cromwell," a member of Parliament for the town of Cambridge, began to superintend the defence of Cambridgeshire against the insane movements of the king; in August he was Captain of a volunteer troop of horse, and by March, 1643, was Colonel. In the same August, his kinsman, Edward Whalley, was Cornet of the 60th regiment of horse (John Fiennes, Captain), and by March, 1643, was Captain.

The next mention found of his name is in the letters of Cromwell, reporting an indecisive action at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, July 28, 1643: "Major Whalley," he writes, "did in this carry himself with all gallantry becoming a gentleman and a Christian" (Carlyle's Cromwell, i, 159); and again, "The honor of this retreat, equal to any of late times, is due to Major Whalley and Captain Ayscough, next under God."

By March, 1645, when the newly molded army was organized, with Fairfax Commander-in-Chief, Whalley was prominent enough to be made Colonel of one of the eleven cavalry regiments, and as such helped notably to win the day at Naseby.[3]

The first Civil War lasted for two years longer, and no regiment was more busy than Colonel Whalley's. We trace him at the defeat of Goring's army at Langport (July 10, 1645), at the sieges of Bridgewater (July 11–25, 1645), of Sherborne Castle (Aug. 1–15, 1645), of Bristol (Aug. 21 to Sept. 11, 1645), of Exeter (Febr., 1646), of Oxford (March, 1646), and of Banbury. On May 9, 1646, the day on which his letter to the Speaker, announcing the storming of Banbury Castle, was written and received, the House voted him their thanks and £100 for the purchase of two horses. ("Cary's Memorials," i, 28.)

From Banbury he marched to Worcester, where Sir Henry Washington (own cousin to the grandfather of General George Washington) surrendered to him on July 23, after eleven weeks'

[3] His regiment was in the front line of the Parliamentary right wing, and was the first to become engaged with Sir Marmaduke Langdale's horse opposite to them. See Markham's Life of Fairfax, p. 220, and Rushworth's Collections, vi, 43.

siege. The city of Oxford had already surrendered to Fairfax, and the first Civil War was at an end.

Meantime, for the two years succeeding the battle of Naseby, Richard Baxter was the chaplain of Whalley's regiment, and in strange contrast to camps and sieges was meditating the peaceful sentences of the "Saint's Everlasting Rest." Years afterward (in 1654) he dedicated one of his works, in appreciative words, to his old Colonel.

The next glimpse of Whalley is in June, 1647, when the king was taken (not unwillingly) by Cornet Joyce and his five hundred troopers from the custody of Parliament at Holdenby (or Holmby) House, in Northamptonshire, and Whalley was sent by Gen. Fairfax with a strong party to meet Charles and escort him back; but Charles declined to return.

A little latter, in the "halcyon days," when the king was lodged in Hampton Court Palace, Whalley was (through Cromwell's influence) for the whole time (Aug. 24 to Nov. 11, 1647) his keeper, and was suspected of connivance in his escape to the Isle of Wight.

In the summer of 1648 came war again, and Whalley went with Fairfax, to quell the Kentish Insurrection, and assist at the capture of Maidstone and the siege of Colchester. In December, he stood by the side of Colonel Pride, while he purged by force the Long Parliament, so as to secure a vote which should bring the shuffling king to trial.

Accordingly, on the fourth of January, 1649, the Commons voted to create a High Court of Justice for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, and Whalley was named among the one hundred and thirty-five Commissioners. He was present at all save one of the sessions of that memorable Court, and his firm, clear signature is the fourth (next after President Bradshaw's, Lord Grey's, and Oliver Cromwell's) among the fifty-nine signatures to the final death-warrant. There is no direct testimony as to the convictions under which he acted at this time; but no one can study his subsequent career and extant letters, without the belief that he was then as afterwards thoroughly conscientious, fearing God and not man, perhaps fanatical, but not vindictive, crafty, or self-seeking.

During Lieut. Gen. Cromwell's Irish campaign (July, 1649 to May, 1650) Whalley's regiment apparently remained in England. But in June, 1650, when Cromwell was made Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief, Whalley joined him for Scotland with the rank of Commissary-General. Here Cromwell's dispatches after the victory at Dunbar (Sept. 3, 1650) mark the bravery of his

onset, and give in the list of casualties, "Col. Whalley only cut in the hand-wrist, and his horse (twice shot) killed under him; but he well recovered another horse, and went on in the chase" (Carlyle's Cromwell, iii, 52).

In August, 1651, Cromwell following Charles II into England, left Monk and Whalley in command, and Parliament voted to each of them in September an estate in England of the yearly value of five hundred pounds. But before many weeks, Whalley was in London again, and present at a memorable conference when the leaders of the Parliament and of the Army met to consider and arrange the settlement of the nation ("Whitelocke's Memorials").

Parliament goes on from bad to worse, as the Army thinks, and at the next move Whalley's name leads the signatures to a long petition from the officers, dated August 13, 1652, craving and suggesting necessary religious and civil reforms and arrangements for a successor to the Rump, now in its twelfth year of service. This was the leaven which roused the House to provide for its own dissolution and for a successor; but on the eve of action, General Cromwell took affairs into his own hands, and Whalley stood by his side when he summarily dismissed the Rump, on the 20th of April, 1653.

Cromwell was now openly at the head of the State, though it was not till the 16th of the following December that he was named Lord Protector. In the scheme of government adopted for the Commonwealth, one feature was to be a triennial Parliament, of five hundred members, guaranteed from dissolution or prorogation for at least five months. In the first Parliament convened under this regulation, Whalley was a representative for Nottinghamshire.

The most important trust which he held, however, was as Major General, when in August, 1655, the command of the militia was divided among ten (afterwards twelve) such officers, who retained office till January, 1657. These Major Generals were clothed with almost absolute authority in their several districts, in special to suppress insurrections, to call to account suspected persons, to levy the ten per cent. income-tax on all royalists; and, in general, to reduce the country to the old foundations of peace and order. Whalley had charge of his native county, Nottinghamshire, with the adjacent shires of Lincoln, Derby, Warwick, and Leicester. His headquarters were at Nottingham, and twenty-six of his despatches, preserved in Secretary Thurloe's Collection of State Papers (vols. iv and v), tell the story of his wise and faithful administration of the duties laid on him; written only for the eyes

of the Lord Protector and his Secretary of State, they bear perpetual testimony to his honesty and uprightness.

His position secured him reëlection from Nottinghamshire to the next Parliament, whose first session was from Sept. 17, 1656, to June 26, 1657, and whose chief business was the presentation of the "Petition and Advice" to his Highness the Lord Protector, and the offer of the royal title. General Whalley is mentioned as using his influence in favor of the assumption of kingship. At the close of the year 1657, for a casual glimpse of Whalley's activity, one may look at the diary of the royalist, John Evelyn, who came to London on Christmas Day to attend church service, which was of course a ceremony forbidden by the authorities; he was apprehended while receiving the sacrament, and tells at length the story of his examination before Whalley and a company of officers.

A month later Parliament reassembled, and in accordance with the "Petition and Advice," the "Other House" was constituted by special writ. In this almost anomalous body, of forty-two members, "Edward, Lord Whalley," sat, during its only session, from Jan. 20, to Feb. 4, 1658.

In the following June, he was one of the committee of nine, charged by Cromwell with preparing business for the next meeting of Parliament in September; but before the summons had been issued, death had summoned the busy Lord Protector. From that moment the restoration of the Stuarts was inevitable.

During the eight months' Protectorate which succeeded, Whalley was a mainstay of the Cromwell dynasty; but Richard's abdication came on May 5, 1659, and the Long Parliament on reassembling withdrew Whalley's commission as General, through fear of his influence with the army. In October, when the army tried to seize the power, Whalley was sent as one of their commissioners to treat with his old comrade, Monk; but Monk refused to meet him, and presently the Restoration was accomplished.

But before pursuing his course further, there is another actor to introduce. The public career of William Goffe runs nearly parallel to that of Whalley, his father-in-law and companion in exile. Little is known of his early life. His father, "a very severe Puritan," as Anthony à Wood calls him, was the Rev. Stephen Goffe, a graduate (B.A. 1595, M.A. 1599) of Magdalen College, Oxford, and at one time (before 1607) rector of Bramber, a little village in Sussex. The sharp divisions of the times are manifested in the divergent careers of three sons of this Puritan household. Stephen, the eldest, had his training at Merton College, Oxford (B.A. 1623), was chaplain of Col. Horace Vere's regiment at the

Hague in 1632–3, then by Archbishop Laud's recommendation preacher to the English merchants in Delft, chaplain in Col. Goring's regiment in 1641, afterwards (1645) secret agent of the Royalist cause in France and Holland; turned Papist, became one of Queen Henrietta Maria's chaplains,[4] and died a priest of the Oratory in Paris, in 1681,[5] aet. 76.[6] John, another brother, also an Oxford graduate (B.A. 1630), steadily adhered to the Church of England, and was vicar of Hackington, near Canterbury, but ejected in 1643 for his refusal to take the "Solemn League and Covenant." Through his brother William's influence he obtained in 1652 another rectory at Norton, in Kent, where he died in 1661. A third brother, James, is only known through General Goffe's reference to him in a letter of July, 1656, in Thurloe's Collection.

The remaining brother, William Goffe,[7] utter foe to both Papist and Churchman, was probably at least ten or twelve years younger than Whalley, whose daughter he married. Of his occupation before 1647, no account is preserved, except the comment of the "Second Narrative of the late Parliament," which describes him as "sometimes Col. Vaughan's brother's apprentice (a salter in London), whose time being near or newly out, betook himself to be a soldier, instead of setting up his trade; went out a quartermaster of foot, and continued in the wars till he forgot what he fought for; in time became a Colonel, and, in the outward appearance, very zealous and frequent in praying, preaching, and pressing, for righteousness and freedom, and highly esteemed in the army, on that account, when honesty was in fashion."

The earliest mention of his name is in June, 1647, when the Army accused the eleven Parliamentary Members. He next appears as "Major Goffe," exhorting in a meeting of army officers at Windsor Castle about the beginning of 1648. Nor is his name seen again until we reach the trial of the king. His signature to the death warrant is the fourteenth in order.

In May, 1649, some of the principal Parliamentary officers visited Oxford by invitation; Fairfax and Cromwell were made Doctors of Laws; Goffe and ten others Masters of Arts.

After this date, Goffe's experiences are almost a copy of Whalley's. With him he accompanied Cromwell into Scotland, as

[4] Cf. Pepys' diary, Sept. 19, 1666, and Evelyn's correspondence, Aug., 1663.

[5] See page 181 of the volume of "Mather Papers," M. H. C. (4) viii, for a reference to him in 1662.

[6] Horsfield's History of Lewes and Vicinity, ii, 219.

[7] Born in Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, South Wales. See the *English Historical Review*, vii, 718-19.

Colonel of a regiment of foot, and is mentioned in the official report of the battle of Dunbar. In 1654 he was returned to Parliament from Yarmouth, in Norfolk, and in 1656 from Southampton. Like Whalley, he was made a Major General in 1655, with command in Sussex (his native county), Hampshire, and Berkshire, and headquarters in Winchester. With Whalley he favored the title of King Oliver, sat in the "Other House," was on the commission arranging business for Parliament when Cromwell died; supported to the last the authority of Richard, and was sent by the army to make terms with Monk.

Thirty-three of his letters in Thurloe's Collection (vols. iv and v), written while serving as Major General, give a clear picture of his unaffected piety, honesty, and humility; a single sentence from a letter of Nov. 13, 1655, to Cromwell's Secretary, may illustrate: "If you think fit," he says, "I beseech you present my most humble service to his Highness, for whom I pray without ceasing, and can, I hope, cheerfully sacrifice my life in the service, if need be; but I wish he do not repent the laying so great a trust upon so poor and inconsiderable a creature."

For the esteem in which he was held, one may see a letter from the second Protector, Nov. 15, 1658 (Thurloe, vii, 504), bestowing on him lands in Ireland of the yearly value of five hundred pounds, in such terms as these: "Calling to mind the great worth and merit of our trusty and well-beloved William, Lord Goffe, Major General of the foot in our army, and of his many eminent, constant, and faithful services, and with what singular valor and prudence he hath done and performed the same to these nations in time of the late wars and otherwise; and also being made acquainted with the gracious intentions of our most dear and entirely beloved father, his late highness of blessed memory, towards the said William, Lord Goffe; and to compensate his desert; we are well pleased to grant," etc.

These outlines show us that both Whalley and Goffe were brave soldiers and trusty leaders, helped into prominence by their relation to Cromwell, and in a measure the creatures of his stronger will. That Goffe at least had independently a marked character may be judged from another passage in the anonymous pamphlet already twice quoted, where it is said, just before Oliver Cromwell's death, General Goffe "hath advanced his interest greatly, and is in so great esteem and favor at court, that he is judged the only fit man to have Major General Lambert's place and command, as major general of the army; and, having so far advanced, is in a fair way to the Protectorship hereafter."

But we pass on a little, and instead of the Protectorship comes exile crowned only by death.

On May 1, 1660, letters were read in the two Houses from Charles II, containing the famous "Declaration of Breda," dated Apr. 4, which promised pardon to all save "only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament." Whalley and Goffe were wise enough to mistrust all promises from the son of Charles I, and three days later, under the thin disguise of Edward Richardson and William Stephenson, they embarked at Gravesend in the "Prudent Mary," Captain Pierce, master.

On Saturday, May 12, the king was proclaimed at Gravesend, and on Monday their vessel sailed for Boston, where they arrived in ten weeks from the following Friday, or on July 27. Among their fellow-passengers were Major Daniel Gookin, an assistant in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and Marmaduke Johnson, coming to print the first installment of Eliot's Indian Bible.

Scarcely were they out of sight of England, when, on May 18, the House of Lords ordered the seizure of the members of the Court which condemned Charles I. Just a week later, the king landed at Dover, and on June 6 issued his proclamation, summoning a long list of persons (Whalley and Goffe included) to appear within a fortnight, or forfeit pardon.

From the day of leaving Westminster until 1667, the younger of the two exiles kept a journal, to which Governor Hutchinson, a hundred years later, had access while writing his History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; this diary then belonged to the Mather family, but was destroyed in the attack on Hutchinson's house by the mob, in 1765; a contemporaneous transcript of a few extracts, extending, however, only from May 4 to Sept. 6, 1660, found among the Winthrop family papers, was printed in the Proceedings of the Mass. Historical Society, for Dec., 1863.

On the landing of the two Judges in Boston, they accepted the hospitality of their fellow-passenger, Major Gookin, and remained openly at his house in Cambridge for seven months. The copy of Goffe's diary just mentioned preserves the form of thanksgiving handed by them to "Matchless" Mitchell, the minister of Cambridge, on the first day of public worship after their arrival.

On August 29, Parliament passed the Act of Indemnity, from the benefits of which Whalley and Goffe were excepted by name; on Sept. 22, a rumor having arisen that they had "lately returned" to England, a special Royal Proclamation[8] offered rewards for

[8] A copy may be seen in the British Museum.

their apprehension,—alive or dead, anywhere within the king's dominions,—of one hundred pounds each.

News of the Act of Indemnity did not reach New England until the last day of November; soon followed by the report of the trial, beginning October 10, of twenty-nine persons for connection with the death of the late king. When it was remembered that Captain Thomas Breedon, a prominent Royalist of Boston, had sailed for England, and was sure to announce that he had seen Generals Whalley and Goffe, no wonder that some of the government began to desire to be rid of their dangerous guests, and that on Febr. 22, 1661, Governor Endicott summoned his council of Assistants (of whom their host, Gookin, was one) to consult about securing them. The Assistants did not agree to any measures, but the regicides removed the cause of apprehension by leaving four days afterwards for New Haven. And why for New Haven?

A fortnight after their landing in New England, the Rev. John Davenport, of New Haven, in a letter to Governor Winthrop of Connecticut (in Mass. Historical Collections, 3d Series, v. x, p. 39), had mentioned their being in Boston, and his intention of inviting them to visit him. It is not likely that he had ever met either of them; the only known connection between him and the Goffe family was in 1633, when General Goffe's brother Stephen was Archbishop Laud's spy on the movements of Davenport, in exile at the Hague. (Calendar of Domestic State Papers for 1633-34, p. 324.) But the Rev. William Hooke, whose wife was sister of Whalley, had been Davenport's associate in the ministry of the First Church of New Haven from 1644 to 1656, and since then his regular correspondent. William Jones, also, who had just joined the settlement here, and became its leading civilian, was a passenger in the ship with the regicides. Other remoter links of connection between the Protector's Government and the Colony of New Haven were through Samuel Desborough, Lord Keeper of Scotland, who lived in New Haven and Guilford from 1639 to 1650, and whose brother, General John Desborough, married a sister of Cromwell and cousin of Whalley; and through the Rev. Henry Whitfield, of Guilford, in this Colony, from 1639 to 1650, in whose family at Winchester Goffe had lived, while at the height of his power as Major General over three shires of England, in 1656.

On their journey of some 140 miles, the travelers passed through Hartford and were entertained by Governor Winthrop. It may be, also, that one of their halting-places was near the ford of the large brook in the present township of Meriden, twenty miles from New Haven, called Pilgrims' Harbor Brook to this day.

In nine days from Cambridge, they reached New Haven, on Thursday, March 7, 1661, and appeared openly as Mr. Davenport's guests for the next three weeks. While they were on the road, however, there had come to Boston, by way of Barbados, rumors of a Royal Proclamation for their arrest, given at London in January, on information supplied by Captain Breedon. Accordingly, the Governor and Assistants of Massachusetts, now that their vigilance could do no harm, cheerfully issued, on March 8, a warrant to secure them, and sent it through that Colony. The news of the King's Proclamation coming to New Haven, and threatening a possible risk to their hosts here, the Judges, on March 27, went to Milford and allowed themselves to be seen there, as though proceeding to New York, but the same night they returned and lay concealed at Mr. Davenport's until May.

On April 28, another royal mandate reached Boston, dated March 5, caused by further accounts of the residence of Whalley and Goffe in Cambridge, and ordering their arrest; but directed by some strange blunder to an official as yet unheard of, "the Governor of New England." Governor Endicott hesitated for a week (during which time the news was of course sent hither), and then without summoning his Council committed the warrant to two young men, with letters from himself to the Chief Magistrates of Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, and New York. (The letter to Dep. Gov. Leete of New Haven is in "Documents relating to Colonial History of N. Y.," iii, 41.)

On Tuesday, May 7, about 6 P. M., the two Commissioners, Thomas Kellond, merchant, and Thomas Kirk, shipmaster, with John Chapin as guide, left Boston for Connecticut. On Friday they called on Governor Winthrop at Hartford, who told them that Whalley and Goffe "did not stay there, but went directly for New Haven." (Report of the Commissioners, in Hutchinson's Collections.) He promised, however, a search in his jurisdiction, which their Report says was made.[9] The next day (Saturday) May 11) they came to Guilford, where lived Deputy-Governor Leete, who since the death of Governor Newman, in November, 1660, had been the Chief Magistrate of the Colony of New Haven. Leete received them in the presence of several persons, and began to read their letters aloud; on their objecting to such publicity, he withdrew to another room and assured them (probably with truth) that he had not seen the "Colonels," as Whalley and Goffe were called, for nine weeks, that is, since their first arrival in the

[9] The warrant for a search in Windsor may be seen in N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register for 1868, xxii, 345.

Colony. The Commissioners replied that they had information of the Colonels being in New Haven since, and demanded horses, about which there was some delay. On their way to the inn, they were told by one Dennis Crampton (Scranton, in their Report), who called other witnesses to the facts, that the regicides were sheltered by Davenport, and that Leete undoubtedly knew it; that Mr. Davenport had recently put in ten pounds' worth of fresh provisions at one time; that Whalley and Goffe on a late training-day (probably in Milford) had openly said that if they had but two hundred friends to stand by them, they would not care for Old or New England. Other bystanders reported that they had very lately been seen between the houses of Mr. Davenport and Mr. Jones.

Excited by this gossip, the Commissioners returned to Leete to demand their horses, military aid, and a warrant to search and arrest. But apparently it was towards sundown, and a Deputy Governor would demur to any traveling within his control until the approaching Sabbath was over. As to a search-warrant and a *posse,* he must consult his brother-magistrates before seeming to recognize such an unprecedented authority as the "Governor of New England," to whom their commission was directed. He would give them, however, a letter to the magistrate residing in New Haven. Meantime they were obliged to wait, chafing with the suspicion that a Guilford Indian had already carried forwards the news of their arrival.

At daybreak on Monday they were allowed to depart, but not before another messenger had preceded them from Leete to Matthew Gilbert, the New Haven magistrate; so that when they arrived the magistrate is nowhere to be seen. Leete had promised to follow them, and there was nothing to be done but wait for his slower-moving dignity. Two hours later he appeared at the court chamber, with Magistrate Crane of Branford, and told the Commissioners that he did not believe that Whalley and Goffe *were* in New Haven (the fact being that they had removed on Saturday night from Mr. Jones's house to "the Mills" in Westville). They offered, if he would allow it, to search the two suspected houses on their own responsibility; but he replied that he neither would nor could do anything until the freemen were met together. Meantime, the other magistrates and the deputies of New Haven had come in, and Leete spent five or six hours in consultation, only to make the same answer. To the Commissioners' threats of his Majesty's probable resentment, Leete replied, "we honor his Majesty, but we have tender consciences." To which the Com-

missioners testily retorted that they believed the magistrates knew all the time where the Colonels were, "and only pretended tenderness of conscience for a refusal." Again the magistrates deliberated, but evening found them still unyielding, and when the Commissioners pressed the question "whether they would own his Majesty or no, it was answered they would first know whether his Majesty would own them," that is, whether their government would be recognized as independent of a Governor of all New-England, now for the first time dimly threatened.

Baffled and powerless, the Commissioners left on the following day for New York, and returned to Boston by sea, where as a small recompense for their pains the Governor's Council granted them each two hundred and fifty acres of land.

The Colonels must remain hidden, at least until the present alarm is over; and accordingly, on the day after the king's messengers had gone westwards, a cave on West Rock (which they called Providence Hill) received them; there they spent four weeks, sheltered in stormy weather in the house of the only neighbor, Richard Sperry, who also supplied them with food. The traditions recited by Dr. Stiles (pp. 31, 78) of a visit of the Royal Commissioners to this cave are utterly irreconcilable with their narrative.

At the conference on Monday, the magistrates had decided to convene the General Court, which accordingly met at New Haven the following Friday; and by its command orders were issued to the marshals in each plantation to search diligently for the Colonels. One of these warrants is given in the printed volume of Colonial Records. Nevertheless, the Judges' Cave was not invaded. From this miserable shelter, only the rumor of harm threatening Mr. Davenport through the suspicion of his still concealing them, induced them to emerge. On June 11, says Gov. Hutchinson, they leave West Rock, "generously resolving to go to New Haven, and deliver themselves to the authority there;" namely, to Gilbert, who had been made Deputy-Governor at an election just held. There is some uncertainty as to the place where they passed the next ten days, since it was not till the 22d that they appeared in New Haven.

President Stiles supposed that they spent a part or the whole of this time, from the 11th to the 22d of June, in Guilford, in Governor Leete's stone cellar, and in Dr. Rossiter's house; but his arguments are not conclusive. There was, it is true, a tradition that the Judges were at some time hid in Guilford, for three days and three nights (Stiles, p. 92), but there is no special reason for determining

this to be the time. The mention in the Colony Records (May 7, 1662) in the case of Dr. Rossiter, of Guilford (then on trial for refusal to pay certain rates and assessments, and for denying the authority of the colony), of his "charges about the Colonels," cannot refer, as Dr. Stiles supposed, to his bill for shelter given to them while visiting Guilford in June, 1661; the prudence of the General Court, as well as the pronounced sympathies of Rossiter with royal authority, forbid the absurd supposition that the Colonels had been entertained at the public expense. Rossiter's charges were probably for aiding in the search made in Guilford after the order of the Court on May 17. Dr. Stiles relies, also, on the second-hand testimony of Gov. Leete's daughter Ann, who is said to have remembered a time when she and the rest of the children of the family were forbidden to go to a certain old stone cellar, for which prohibition the hiding of the Colonels was afterwards avowed as the reason; Dr. Stiles supposed her to have been four or five years old in 1661, but in fact the register of Guilford births shows that this daughter of Gov. Leete was not born until March, 1662.

The Rev. John Davenport (in a letter written in August, to be again referred to) says that on June 22, Whalley and Goffe "came from another colony, where they were and had been some time, to New Haven." The authority for their leaving West Rock on June 11 is Goffe's diary, as used by Hutchinson. It is hardly probable that between the two dates they made a journey into either of the bordering colonies, where their stay must at best have been short; but on the other hand it is inconceivable that the cave "where they were and had been sometime" was unknown to their chief friend. Mr. Davenport's statement looks like a prevarication.

On Saturday, June 22, then, they appeared in New Haven, "professing," writes Davenport, " that their true intention, in their coming at that time, was to yield themselves to be apprehended," but the Deputy-Governor took no measures for their arrest. "The next day," says Hutchinson, "some persons came to them to advise them not to surrender." On the day following, the magistrates met at New Haven on other business, but through either connivance or over-confidence deferred taking custody of their uncaged prisoners. Before the magistrates' meeting was ended, the Colonels had disappeared; or, to give the account in Davenport's words, "Our Governor and magistrates wanted neither will nor industry to have served his Majesty in apprehending the two Colonels, but were prevented and hindered by God's overruling providence, which withheld them that they could not execute their true purpose

therein; and the same Providence could have done the same, in the same circumstances, if they had been in London, or in the Tower. Before the magistrates issued their consultation, which was not long, the Colonels were gone away, no man knowing how nor whither. Thereupon a diligent search was renewed, and many were sent forth on foot and horseback. * * * But all in vain."

Mr. Davenport seems to imply that they escaped by miraculous means, "no man knowing how;" perhaps he believed that; perhaps he was wilfully misled.

Rumors of this marvellous eluding of the magistrates soon reached the authorities of Massachusetts Bay, whose agent in England had already alarmed them by reports that the Council for Plantations were noting the slowness of the Colonies to proclaim Charles II, and would be ready to take offence at the action of New Haven on the royal mandate concerning Whalley and Goffe. Accordingly, in July, Secretary Rawson wrote from Boston, by order of the Council, to Governor Leete, advising him to arrest the regicides at once without any more evasion. (See the letter in Hutchinson's Collections; New Haven Colonial Records, ii, 419; and Stiles, p. 56.) The Governor took the alarm and called together the General Court again, on August 1, to dictate an answer; the answer (in N. H. Colonial Records, ii, 420; and Stiles, p. 49) excused the treatment of the Commissioners in May by blaming their forwardness, "retarding their own business to wait upon ours without commission," as well as by reiterating conscientious objections to "owning a general Governor, unto whom the warrant was directed." The answer also laid the blame of the Colonels' second disappearance on Deputy-Governor Gilbert's remissness, and was strong in declarations of honesty.

This letter was sent on to England, and with it a copy of the letter already cited, from the Rev. John Davenport to Col. Temple of Boston, the trusty agent of Charles II, giving a defence of the writer's conduct in this affair, in terms of unstinted flattery and unquestioned dissimulation. (See the copy of this letter in Mass. Hist. Collections, 3d Series, viii, 327.) It is humiliating that his record of magnanimous fidelity and courage in harboring the friendless exiles, is tarnished by the fawning, disingenuous apology which his own pen has traced.

In communicating these letters, Col. Temple mentions that he has himself joined in a secret design with Mr. John Pynchon, of Springfield, and Capt. Richard Lord, of Hartford, and has great hopes of seizing Whalley and Goffe. Lord died in a few months, and nothing came of the scheme, but on August 19, after the judges

had tried cave-life for a brief three months, "the search for them being pretty well over, they ventured to the house of one Tomkins in Milford, where they remained two years, without so much as going into the orchard." (Hutchinson.)

A few weeks later (Sept. 5, 1661), the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, in their annual session, held at Plymouth,[10] issued a warning to all persons in the colonies, not to shelter Whalley and Goffe, but to make their hiding-place known to the magistrates, in pursuance of the king's mandate. Leete signed this order, as one of the Commissioners from the Colony of New Haven; but the signature of his fellow-Commissioner, Benjamin Fenn, of Milford, was withheld, he having accepted office on the last election-day with the express stipulation that "in case any business from without should present, he conceived that he should give no offence if he did not attend to it." Whether his scruples were broader than this special case, or whether the knowledge that the persons in question lodged with one of his nearest neighbors restrained him, may be doubted.

On his return, probably, from this meeting, Gov. Leete stopped in Boston to secure an intercessory letter in his own behalf from the Rev. John Norton to Richard Baxter (dated Sept. 23), which set forth that he "being conscious of indiscretion and some neglect . . . in relation to the expediting the execution of the warrant . . sent from his Majesty for the apprehending of the two Colonels, is not without fear of some displeasure that may follow thereupon;" consequently, he has since done all that he could, as his neighbors also attest. This letter with some preceding circumstances implies that at least a difference of opinion had arisen between Leete on the one hand and Davenport and Gilbert on the other, as to the course of conduct to be pursued in regard to the regicides. The following extracts confirm this view: Rev. William Hooke says in a letter to Davenport, dated Oct. 12 (copied by Goffe in his Milford retreat, and printed in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. (4), viii, 177), "I understand by your letter [of August] what you have lately met with from Mr. L.;" and in a letter dated Febr. 12, 1662, to Mr. Gilbert, Robert Newman, one of the original pillars of the First Church of New Haven, but some years since returned to England, says, "I am sorry to see that you should be so much surprised with fears of what men can or may do unto you - - I hear of no danger, nor do I think any will attend you for that matter. Had not W. L. wrote such a pitiful letter over, the busi-

[10] It is to this meeting that Gov. Bradstreet refers in his letter to Edward Randolph, Dec., 1684 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 4th Series, viii, 533).

ness I think would have died. What it may do to him I know not: they have greater matters than that to exercise their thoughts." (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. (4), viii, 182.)

After 1661 the most that is known of Whalley and Goffe is to be gathered from the volume of Collections just referred to, which contains a selection from the letters received by Goffe from 1662 to 1679, draughts of his replies, his letters to Increase Mather, and his minutes of news gleaned from despatches sent him by friends in New England, especially by Davenport and Gilbert of New Haven, and by Waitstill Winthrop, son of the Governor of Connecticut. This material arranged chronologically will be our chief guide in what follows.

First, however, should be mentioned the letter which Gov. Hutchinson printed in volume I, of his History, being the earliest which has been preserved from Mrs. Goffe to her husband. It was written between August and October, 1662, from the house of her aunt, Mrs. Hooke, and *in propria persona,* that is, as from wife to husband, while all her later letters are worded as if from mother to son.

The year 1663 was marked by a letter from the Rev. Mr. Hooke (begun Febr. 25, and ended March 2), which though directed to Davenport was meant for Goffe also: it was intercepted by the treachery of a messenger and inspected by the Government. "The Secretary said it was as pernicious a letter against the Government as had been written since his Majesty came in." An abstract of it is given in the "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" for 1663–4 (p. 63): it was unsigned, and the writer undetected, though a great stir was made about it. A second letter from Hooke (dated June 24, 1663), rehearsing the matter, is in the volume of Collections[11] (p. 122).

In 1664 the Judges began to breathe more freely; but towards the end of July four Royal Commissioners arrived in Boston, instructed to visit the New England Colonies and New York, and among other things to inquire after persons attainted of high treason. This pointed directly to Whalley and Goffe, and as soon as they learned of it, they "retired to their cave, where they tarried eight or ten days," when "some Indians, in their hunting, discovered the cave with the bed, etc., and the report being spread abroad, it was not safe to remain near it." (Hutchinson.)

After this, possibly they again sought asylum with friends in New Haven, possibly in Guilford; but on October 13 (while the

[11] This letter, also to Davenport, is erroneously supposed by the editors of the Collections to have been addressed to Goffe.

Royal Commissioners were at New York) the Rev. John Russell, of Hadley, Mass., having previously agreed to receive them,[12] they left for that town, seventy-five miles distant, making the journey by night. Dr. Stiles (p. 96) finds a trace of this journey in the name "Pilgrims' Harbor" in Meriden, and such is now the tradition there; but one deed at least is on record, dated Oct. 15, 1664, not many hours after they were passing the spot, in which the name Pilgrim Harbor Brook, or River, is already employed as a familiar boundary. ("Perkins's Sketches of Meriden," p. 104.)

After their arrival in Hadley, the notices of their life are scanty enough. For the year 1665 we have nothing but a transcript by Goffe (M. H. C. (4), viii, p. 126) of part of a letter from Mr. Davenport to William Goodwin, of Hadley, commenting on English news, with one sentence which Goffe copies in cipher, namely, "It would exceedingly refresh me, if I could speak freely and fully with those three worthies your neighbors." The three worthies were Whalley, Goffe, and John Dixwell; the last regicide having joined the others on Febr. 10, 1665 (as Hutchinson learned from the Diary), and continued "some years." He is then lost sight of till he settles in New Haven in 1673. From Davenport's reference to him at this early date, it is most probable that he also had already shared the hospitalities of the friends of the Commonwealth here. There is no other reference to him in any of Goffe's papers.

The year 1666 is marked only by Hutchinson's statement that they were disappointed when it passed without any of the startling events which they had expected from a study of the number of the beast in the Apocalypse.

The next four years have only scattered notices, of little interest. Meantime Davenport left New Haven for Boston, and after a brief ministry died there in 1670.

In 1671 there is one letter (M. H. C. (4), viii, p. 133) from Mrs. Goffe, over her assumed signature of Frances Goldsmith, in answer to her husband's (of Aug. 10), and referring to Whalley in terms indicating his already enfeebled condition.

For 1672 the record is much more full, five letters giving a tolerably clear picture of the exiles and their friends at home. (M. H. C., 3d Series, i, 60; Hutchinson's Collections, 432; M. H. C. (4), viii, 136–143, 260, 143.) One event of the year was the gift of £50 from Mr. Richard Saltonstall, Jr., of Ipswich to the Judges, on his leaving for England. The letter from his agent

[12] Probably through Davenport's introduction: note also that Wm. Goodwin, Davenport's co-trustee of the Hopkins fund, has lately moved to Hadley, and is party to the secret.

(Deacon Edward Collins, of Charlestown, June 1), cautiously directed to "the Hon^{d} Gentlemen, at their Lodgings wheresoever," is preserved (M. H. C. (4), viii, 134), with the draft of a reply, giving order for payment to Mr. Russell "or such person or persons as he shall appoint." Referring to this gift in the next letter to his wife, Goffe says, "The Lord is pleased to send in supplies for the carrying on of a little trade here among the Indians; as the present stock in New England money (between my partner and myself) is somewhat above one hundred pounds, all debts paid, therefore pray speak to Mrs. Janes" [that is, Whalley's sister, Mrs. Jane Hooke] "not to send any more till she be desired from hence."

Of their life in 1673 we have no glimpse, except in a mutilated draft of a letter from Goffe to Mrs. Hooke (October 2), among the unprinted papers, now in the Prince Collection, in the Boston Public Library.

For 1674 we have a letter from Mr. Hooke (April 4; M. H. C. (4), viii, 148), Goffe's reply (Aug. 5, p. 151), and a letter to his wife (Aug. 6, in Hutchinson's Collections, p. 453). In writing to Hooke, Goffe says of Whalley, "I do not apprehend the near approach of his death more now (save only he is so much older) than I did two years ago. He is indeed very weak; but He that raiseth the dead, is able to restore him to some degree of strength again, and will do it if it may make for His glory, the edification of His people, and our best good." In the same letter the editors of the volume insert a reference to Dixwell, which needs correction. Mr. Hooke's letter (to which this was a reply) had said, speaking of his family, "Our children are all living, if he in New England be so, from whom we have not heard these several years by letters from him, which is a grief to us." This son is also heard of through a letter from his father to Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, June 30, 1663 (M. H. C. (4), vii, 594), despatching him, then aged 20, to live with the governor as his servant for four years. What end poor Ebenezer Hooke may have made, no one can tell, but Goffe in his reply says, "I am so far off the seaside, that I seldom hear anything of your friend there. I am very sorry he neglects to write to you. There is a friend now gone to those parts whom I have desired to inquire after him. I should be glad to have something to write of him that might be a comfort to you." This certainly has no reference to Dixwell, who was now of New Haven, but does mean Hooke's son, who was still in New Haven as late as 1670; but if New Haven is the "seaside" town referred to, this extract shows conclusively that Goffe and Dixwell had not then any specially intimate relations.

We come to the year 1675, when tradition gives a famous glimpse of the hermit once more turned soldier. Gov. Hutchinson's History records the anecdote as preserved in the family of Gov. Leverett, who had been a Captain in the Parliamentary army early in the Civil War and had visited the regicides while in Hadley, as Hutchinson learned from the fragment of Goffe's diary in his hands.

It was Wednesday, Sept. 1, and Hadley folk were keeping a fast with public worship. Suddenly there came an Indian attack, and the townspeople were rallied to victory by a venerable leader, of military bearing, whom none had ever seen before, or ever saw again. Probably the most never knew who their helper was, though the shrewder ones may have guessed and whispered his name. The local traditions which Dr. Stiles (pp. 109–110) and Mr. Judd, the historian of Hadley (pp. 145–147), were able to gather, add no sure details to the romantic outline; but more than one famous novelist has expanded the story in his fiction. It is enough to instance Scott's "Peveril of the Peak" (v. i, ch. 14), and Cooper's "Wept of Wish-ton-wish."[13]

I venture to suggest that a contemporary hint at the occurrence may be found in a letter from the Rev. John Russell to Increase Mather (M. H. C. (4), viii, 81), who as we shall see later was a trusted friend of the regicides. Mr. Russell comments thus on Mather's "History of the Indian Wars," in which the attack on Hadley was briefly mentioned without reference to the mysterious leader: "I find nothing considerable mistaken in your history; nor do I know whether you proceed in your intended second edition. That which I most fear in the matter is, lest Mr. B. or some of Connecticut should clash with ours, and contradict each other in the story as to matter of fact. Should that appear in print which I have often heard in words, I fear the event would be exceeding sad." Viewed in the light of subsequent facts, these sentences mean that Goffe had, before the date of this letter (April 18, 1677), removed to Connecticut, and Mr. Russell is apprehensive lest "Mr. B." or others with whom Goffe was now living should contradict any printed version of the dramatic appearance at Hadley, and lest in any event the safety of the poor hunted regicide should be endangered.

But before taking up the subject of Goffe's removal from Hadley, the death of Whalley should be referred to. There is now no reason whatever to doubt that Whalley's death occurred

[13] Mr. George Sheldon, the historian of Deerfield, was skeptical of this entire tradition.

in Hadley between August, 1674, and August, 1676.[14] That a regicide died and was buried in Hadley, was the common tradition there when Dr. Stiles made his inquiries (Stiles, p. 198); and sufficient proof of the tradition was found shortly after (in 1795), when the wall of the cellar under Mr. Russell's kitchen was removed. "In taking down the middle part of the front wall" [of the kitchen, to which part alone of the Russell house there was a cellar], "next to the main street, the workmen discovered about four feet below the top of the ground a place where the earth was loose, and a little search disclosed flat stones, a man's bones, and bits of wood. Almost all the bones were in pieces, but one thigh bone was whole, and there were two sound teeth. Dr. S. H. Rogers, who then resided in Hadley, examined the thigh bone, and said it was the thigh bone of a man of large size. . . . No other graves were found behind the cellar wall." ("Judd's Hist. of Hadley," p. 222.)

There is no good reason for doubt that these bones were the mortal remains of General Edward Whalley; nor can one doubt that if President Stiles had lived to hear of the discovery,[15] he would have been the first to abandon the tradition perpetuated by his credulity, that the stones on the New Haven green marked "E. W." were erected over Whalley's dust. The reader of Dr. Stiles may trace how his theory grew in his own mind, and how the process by which one regicide's grave became three evolved itself as regularly as the story of the three black crows. But Edward Wigglesworth died in New Haven on the first of October, 1653: why should not the stones marked "E. W., 1653," be his memorial? I acknowledge that the "3" is more like an 8; but nobody except Dr. Stiles ever suspected that the "5" was a 7.[16] And yet even though the figures could be supposed to be 1678, that does not fit the present knowledge of the regicide history; for it is certain from Goffe's letters in the volume of Mass. Hist. Collections that Whalley died in 1674, 1675, or 1676.

This will appear from the chronological order of events to which

[14] In a manuscript letter of Governor Hutchinson to President Stiles, June 6, 1765, he refers to a letter of Goffe in 1674, describing Whalley's invalid condition, and says that he "in one of his next letters speaks of her friend now with God, &c."

[15] President Stiles died May 12, 1795, less than a month after the first bound copy of his "History of the Regicides" came from the printer. The curious fact may be noticed that by a misprint the dedication is made to bear date, Nov. 20, 1793; this should be 1794, as Dr. Stiles's Diary proves.

[16] The later view is that E. W. designates Elizabeth, wife of John Wakeman, who died in 1658.

we now return. On March 30, 1676, Edward Randolph left England for Boston, to convey the king's demand for Colonial agents at Court, and to make minute inquiries into the state of the colonies. He was in New England from June 10 to July 30, and in his report (dated in September) says of a law in Massachusetts Bay, encouraging the succor of fugitives: "by which law Whalley and Goffe and other traitors were kindly received and entertained." ("Hutchinson's Collections," p. 483.) Undoubtedly his inquiries were noticed by Goffe's friends, and may have rendered a change of hiding-place expedient.

On page 156 of the volume of Mass. Hist Collections is printed an unsigned letter, directed to Increase Mather, sealed with Whalley's seal, and dated "Ebenezer," Sept. 8, 1676. The handwriting of the original is Goffe's, and in it he says, "I was greatly beholden to Mr. Noell for his assistance in my remove to this town. I pray if he be yet in Boston, remember my affectionate respects to him." The only "Mr. Noell" who can be intended is Samuel Nowell of Charlestown who was a Chaplain in the Connecticut Valley during Philip's War, and was just now starting on a visit to England. The writer of the letter says clearly that through Mr. Nowell's help, he had lately changed his place of residence. The opening sentence of the letter shows the neighborhood from which it was written. "I have read," says Goffe, "the letters from England that you enclosed to Mr. Whiting, and give you hearty thanks for your continued care in that matter:" which can only refer to the Rev. John Whiting, pastor in Hartford from 1660 to 1689. Goffe, apparently, was not under the Hartford minister's roof, but within his reach and securely hidden, for he goes on to say: "I find it very difficult to attain any solid intelligence of what is done abroad. But the works of the Lord are great, and should be sought out of all them that have pleasure therein. I cannot choose therefore but be shutting one eye and peeping with the other through the crevices of my close cell to discern the signs of my Lord's coming."

A few days later (Sept. 25) Mr. Samuel Nowell writes a letter which is also preserved among the "Mather Papers" (p. 572). The outside address is to "his worthy friend, Mr. Jonathan Bull, of Hartford," but the letter is for Goffe. It begins: "Honored Sir,— The day before the arrival of the bearer, Mr. Bull, I had written a letter to my worthy friend, Mr. Whiting, and it was for your sake, seeing I did not know how to direct a few lines to you." The letter goes on to give the foreign news, and adds: "As for ourselves in New England, we are fearing a General Governor. . . .

I suppose you will judge it convenient to remove if any such thing should happen as that a Governor should be sent." At the end the writer promises to send further news from England, and to visit there the relatives of the person he is addressing. The General Governor whom New England feared did not come till 1686, in the person of Sir Edmund Andros. As to Goffe's relatives in England, a chance remark in a subsequent letter of Mrs. Hooke to Increase Mather (June 27, 1678; M. H. C. (4), viii, 262) implies that she had had the proposed visit from Mr. Nowell. Jonathan Bull, by whom this letter was carried, was a son of Thomas Bull of Hartford, now twenty-seven years old and living unmarried at his father's house, where it is most likely that Goffe was then secreted; the fact that the son married a few years later a daughter of the Rev. John Whiting may emphasize the intimacy between the two families.

Passing on to 1677, we find only an unsigned letter from Goffe to Increase Mather (M. H. C. (4), viii, 159), covering one for England. Two more such letters of 1678 follow (pp. 160, 162), each signed "T. D.";[17] in the latter of these, dated Oct. 23, he writes, "I should take it as a great kindness to receive a word or two from you; if you please to inclose it to Mr. Whiting, only with this short direction—These for Mr. T. D.—I hope it would come safely."

Under date of April 2, 1679, is the last of Goffe's letters thus preserved. Gov. Hutchinson also mentions this as the latest seen by him. It is to Increase Mather, and is signed "T. D." There is one later letter in the collection (p. 224), dated July 30, 1679, addressed to "T. D." (that is, to Goffe), and signed "P. T." No doubt these initials are Peter Tilton's, a prominent man in Hadley, and according to tradition one who sheltered the exiles while concealed in that town. The letter says, "I have sent you by S. P." [Samuel Porter?] "£10., having not before a safe hand to convey it, it being a token of the love and remembrance of several friends who have you upon their hearts. We have lately only that great news of the king's threefold dream, with which his thoughts were sore troubled and amazed, etc., which I presume Mr. Russell hath

[17] Among the Mather papers in the Boston Public Library, not printed, is one (vol. i, p. 63) containing a report of the king's address, May 28, 1677, in Goffe's hand, written on the reverse of an envelope-side, which has the direction [in Peter Tilton's hand?] (erased, but visible) "These for Capt. Thomas Bull [to] be conveyed to Mr. Duffell, Mercht." Hence I conclude that "T. D." may have been T. Duffell. Mrs. Goffe had relatives of that name in England, but there is no other trace of it in New England during the first century.

given you a full account of, as understanding he hath written to Hartford. . . . Dear Sir, I hope God is making way for your enlargement." Here is then the plain statement that Goffe was living in Hartford in June, 1679, but neither date nor place later in his history can be found. I can hardly doubt that he died very soon after, and was buried by friendly hands in Hartford, and his private papers sent to Increase Mather.

But Dr. Stiles found an ancient stone in our burial ground, marked "M. G. 80," which his ingenious brain led him to fancy was "W. G. 80" (that is, William Goffe, died 1680), betrayed by the stone-cutter's device in underlining the M. I quote Dr. Stiles's words (p. 133) as to the origin of this theory and they are all-important: "I have not found," he says, "the least tradition or surmise of Goffe [being buried here] till I myself conjectured it, Jan., 1793, inferring it in my own mind without a doubt, that IF Whalley, who certainly died at Hadley, was afterward removed here, Goffe would have been also." But when the undisturbed grave of Whalley was found in Mr. Russell's cellar at Hadley, the entire foundation for Dr. Stiles's theory crumbled by his own explanation.

And, again, that was a very pretty sentiment, worked up by President Stiles, of the three intimate friends, Whalley, Goffe, and Dixwell, bound by so many experiences in life and unable to rest quietly if separated in their graves. I am sorry to spoil the picture; but these papers of Goffe go far to show that he had no correspondence or intercourse with or interest in Dixwell after his temporary stay in Hadley. If, then, Goffe's bones were moved at all (a theory which the mere difficulties of transportation were enough to overthrow), we must look to Hadley, where his kinsman Whalley lay, and not to New Haven where Dixwell was impatiently lingering in hopes of a return to England. Nor, even if Goffe came to New Haven after leaving Hartford, and here died, does it seem to me possible that any friends, burying the old man who had lived in such utter secresy, would have ventured to put over his grave a falsely-initialed stone, corresponding to no entry in the town record of deaths, but challenging the notice of all the gossips. The confidants of Goffe's secret elsewhere, so far as we know them, Russell, Tilton, Whiting, the Bulls, Saltonstall, Nowell, Mather, kept it so sacredly that Dr. Stiles did not glean a single fact through any gossip handed down from them. We know, on the other hand, that Ex-Governor Matthew Gilbert died here in 1680 (will dated Jan. 14, and inventory July 6), that no one is more likely than he to have been buried in such an honored

central place (so near the graves of Governors Eaton and Jones) and that no other stone in the old cemetery was ever shown as his. Fortunately the circumstantial evidence is strong enough to clear Goffe from the supposition of having been a party, dead or living, to a performance so utterly at variance with his simple, humble, unassuming character.

There is still another episode in respect to his residence in Hartford which needs to be rehearsed. On April 20, 1680, an adventurer named John London, who claimed to have known Goffe in England, made oath before the New York authorities, that in the preceding May (that is about the date of Goffe's last letter), being then a resident of Windsor, Conn., he saw Goffe at the house of Capt. [Joseph, says the record; probably a clerical error for Thomas] Bull in Hartford, living there under the name of Cooke, and that Capt. Bull "hath for several years past kept privately Col. Goffe, at his own house or his son's." London's affidavit set forth that he took measures to kidnap Goffe, but was betrayed by a neighbor (Thomas Powell) to two of the Hartford magistrates (Maj. Talcott and Capt. Alling), who had him arrested, on charge of conspiracy against the colony.

On May 18, nearly a month after this deposition, Gov. Andros of New York wrote to the Governor (Wm. Leete) and assistants of Connecticut, giving the substance of the charges (Conn. Col. Records for 1678–89, p. 283), and it was not till June 10 that the Secretary of Connecticut issued a search-warrant (Col. Records, p. 284) to the Hartford constables, to make diligent search in all the premises of Capt. Bull and of his sons, and also "in all places within your limits, where there may be any (or the least) suspicion that they may be hid." The search was vain, and on the next day the Governor and assistants write (Col. Records, p. 285) to Gov. Andros avowing amazement at the suspicion, and praying to know the names of the informers. Nothing more seems to have been done.

This John London had been imprisoned by the Council of Connecticut three or four years before for reporting notorious lies; and it has been supposed by an eminent authority (Hon. James Savage, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for Jan., 1856, p. 61), that this affidavit was one of London's lies,—either concocted to bother the authorities who had had him imprisoned, or inspired by them after Goffe's death had removed danger, to give them the chance of showing themselves clear.

But our present knowledge that Goffe was in Hartford at the time when he is said to have been seen (May, 1679), and that

the Bull family were in the secret, makes any other supposition unnecessary. There is, to be sure, a suspiciously long interval (23 days) between the date of the letter from New York and the Hartford search warrant, long enough to have secured the removal of Goffe if he were still living; and it may seem as though if consciously innocent the authorities should have moved more quickly; but perhaps some technical delay in laying the letter before the Governor and assistants, or the fact that the charge was already a year old, and not therefore regarded important, is the explanation. Here, however, if anywhere comes in the remote possibility of a flight to New Haven, and a gravestone marked "M. G. 80."

There is a natural disappointment that, while these materials open much of the lives of Whalley and Goffe to us, they give next to nothing about the third regicide, whose bones are unquestionably in our keeping. A single letter from James Davids (Dixwell's familiar pseudonym) to Increase Mather is printed in the Collections (p. 164) for the first time, though referred to by Hutchinson. It relates to the transmission of his letters to England, and of letters from England to him; the date being March 22d, 1683–4. He was then living here in peace and prosperity. A doubtful tradition tells us that some two years later Sir Edmund Andros spent a Sabbath in New Haven, when he was edified by hearing Sternhold and Hopkins' version of Psalm 52d given out, beginning:

> "Why dost thou, Tyrant, boast abroad,
> Thy wicked works to praise,"—

and his suspicions excited by a glimpse of the venerable Dixwell, then in his 80th year; but no evil results followed.

Dixwell died in March, 1688–9, about five weeks before the news of the proclamation of William and Mary, when exile might safely have ended; but the last act in the history of the regicides in New England was already over.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JOHN DAVENPORT.

[From the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Vol. II, 1877. Read February, 1875.]

Some three or four years ago, I was invited to prepare for this Society a list of the writings of the founders of the New Haven Colony, John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, with the understanding that if material throwing new light on their characters should be found, the Rev. Dr. Bacon would sum up the results.

In fulfilling, in part, my share of the undertaking, I find at the outset this embarrassment, that if I limit myself to the mere titles and dates of Davenport's writings, nothing can excuse the tediousness of the enumeration: on the other hand, I am precluded from encroaching on the province of another paper which is to follow. I shall endeavor to confine myself to a chronological outline of facts, with such explanations as are needed at the distance of two centuries; and I am well aware that the bare outline may disappoint, both those whose lack of knowledge will lead them to expect too much, and those who know the story already, and who know that interesting material cannot be manufactured to order.

John Davenport was baptized in the Church of the Holy Trinity, in Coventry, in Warwickshire: the stone font which then served for baptisms, though afterwards banished by Puritan zeal, has been restored to its use, and is still a conspicuous object in the beautiful Gothic church: the church retains also its almost unique stone pulpit constructed on one of the pillars of the nave, from which pulpit I heard a few months ago a fiery sermon on the binding authority of a State Church, which sounded strangely to a disciple of Davenport's Colony. Here, in the record of baptisms, near many familiar surnames (Shakspeares included), under the year 1597, is the entry, "Apr. 9, John Dampard [such the colloquial form], son of Henrie."[18] From 1591 to 1604, the vicar of Trinity Church was Richard Eaton, supposed to be the father of Daven-

[18] This entry refers to a cousin of our subject. Later search has found the baptism of John, son of John, on March 7, 1596.

port's friend, Theophilus Eaton; but a careful search in the same record, while it shows five children of the vicar, does not find any Theophilus. The record should decide also whether one Christopher Davenport, whose name is somewhat associated with John's, was his brother or a cousin. I can only testify that the sole Christopher on the book was an older son of Henry, and that his baptism (Oct. 1, 1590) is eight years in advance of the usual accounts of the birth of the well known Christopher.

The first trace of John Davenport's boyhood is his name among the scholars of the Free Grammar School of Coventry, a famous school for those days, founded some half-century before by John Hales, a wealthy inhabitant, and of which the original building, of creditable sixteenth-century architecture, is still standing and used for the purpose of the endowment. From a glance at the school room, one might almost hope to identify the very desk at which the young Davenport of 270 years ago sat and carved his name—so perfect is the antiquity of the place. The usher of Coventry Grammar School in those days, though by tradition not a good disciplinarian, was a famous scholar, Dr. Philemon Holland, known still by his translations of Pliny and Livy, Xenophon and Plutarch; and it is a pleasant thought that from such an enthusiast Davenport imbibed the taste for classical learning which led him, in keeping with the fashion of his day, to load his pages not rarely with original citation and reference. Dr. Holland was subsequently head-master of the school, and lies buried in Trinity Church.

Before leaving Coventry for the University, it is worth while to note that in 1611 the city was deeply stirred by a discussion of the question of the propriety of kneeling in receiving the sacrament: through some laxness in the church authorities, it had come to be a custom to commune in a standing posture; but now King James hears of the incipient nonconformity, and sends a letter from his own hand reproving roundly the city government for allowing such a disorderly practice. Thus early was Davenport brought to the knowledge of the position of the head of the state on a matter which in the issue proved the turning point of his own separation from the church of his fathers.

To Oxford, in 1613, at the age of 17, John Davenport goes, in company with his kinsman, Christopher. For the two years spent there, I can add nothing to the doubtful accounts given by Wood, in the *Athenæ Oxonienses,* and by Mather, in his *Magnalia.* It is uncertain even to what College[19] they belonged; but, as the story goes in Wood, they entered as battlers (or, beneficiaries for their

[19] Increase Mather says, to Brasenose.

food and tuition), and continued until the head of the College refused to allow them further aid, when John left, to earn his way elsewhere. If they were at Merton, as Wood states, the Master who took this step was Sir Henry Savile, one of the most profound and elegant scholars of the day and a prominent benefactor to the University: the most distinguished among the Fellows of Merton was John Hales, the "ever memorable," who was also Royal Professor of Greek in the University and a man of abundant learning. But the most noted figure in Oxford during these years, and doubtless familiar to Davenport's eyes, was William Laud, now President of St. John's College, and fated to have a vital influence on the development of Davenport's character and creed.

As in leaving Oxford we part company with Christopher Davenport, it may be worth while, for the sake of the emphatic contrast, to call attention to his career. He is said to have remained at the University for a few months longer, and by that time to have been converted to the Roman Church by an itinerant priest, so that he removed to Douay, became a Franciscan friar, and Professor of Sacred Theology at Douay, and then a successful missionary to his native country: and when time brought a Roman Catholic consort to Charles I, Father Francis de St. Clare (to use his religious name) was one of her chaplains, much at Court, and commonly reported to be an intimate friend of Bishop Laud; and in later years, when another Catholic Queen ascended the British throne, again he was a Court Chaplain, and as such died, full of days and of honors, at one of the royal palaces in London, ten years after the death of his Puritan brother in New England. He had the family trait of being a ready writer, as his Latin works, collected by himself in two thick folios, bear witness.

Cast out of his student-home at the age of 19, the young man had no trouble in finding his vocation. He had made himself a name already for speaking and writing, as one (Stephen Goffe) who four years later became a student at Merton College, happens long afterwards to testify; and we have the means of tracing him almost without interruption from the learner's seat to the pulpit.

Of the very few manuscripts of Davenport's sermons which have escaped destruction, it is notable that one is the volume in which are the records of his occupation during the winter which followed his removal from Oxford. It was preserved in his family until eighty years ago, and then given to the Library of Yale College. Although the volume does not contain his name written by himself, yet the handwriting throughout is indisputably his, and the proofs that it is of the date assigned to it are sufficient. It contains, besides

Latin, notes of lectures on philosophy, etc., forty-three sermons or outlines of sermons. Nearest the beginning of the book are two, in what is apparently an earlier hand than the others. On the page between these two is a paragraph of personal apology, beginning thus: "My occasions of late have bene so many (wherewith some of you have been acquainted) as y^{t} I have scarsely had any time to employ my studie for preparation herunto, whervpon growing something timorous and almost afraid to undertake this so great a worke, at y^{e} last happily I called to mind y^{e} resolution of an auncient father that nothing but death should make him breake promise; wherupon I sodainly resolved wth myselfe by the helpe of God to continue firme, hoping that his power would appeare in my weakness and presuming upon your courteous and kind acceptance, either upon consideration of the paucity of my yeares or the paucity of my time which I could alott to this busines, either of which I doubt not will sufficiently excuse mee." . . . .

Next is a sermon headed, "At Hilton Castle, Anno 1615. Serm. 1, of J. D., upon Deut. 28, 1." Sermons follow in a regularly numbered series, up to 35, after which are five others not numbered. Number 15 of the series is indicated as a sermon preached on Christmas Day, and between numbers 17 and 18 comes one headed "Upon New Year's Day." The sermons are so connected by such references as "you heard in y^{e} forenoone," "you heard the last Sabbath," etc., as to show that they were preached consecutively, two a day, counting backwards and forwards from the Christmas sermon, from November, 1615, to March, 1616. They are, as was then the fashion, and preëminently this preacher's fashion, in the form of a series, from half a dozen to a dozen on a single text, and the whole set interdependent: thus, he begins the 34th sermon (from the 1st verse of Exodus xx, Then God spake all these words and said), "Those few sermons, in number 34, which I have performed with much weakness in myself and yet great strength in respect of the all-sufficient operation of God's Spirit, which most glorifieth himself by weak means, have been but as a preludium unto this my present text, or purpose in handling the Commandments." I regret to say that the discourses which follow do not get beyond the introductory verses, and that there is reason to fear that the patient hearers died without ever learning the full conclusion to which this "preludium" tended.

These sermons were preached, as the writer testifies, at Hilton Castle, the seat of the noble family of Hilton, a dozen miles northeast of the city of Durham. The local historians all speak of the state observed at the castle, and of its chapel as a domestic place

of worship, where chaplains were always in attendance. The head of the house in 1615 was a young bachelor of thirty, who died in 1641, alienating the property and leaving his family to poverty and decay.

Our record carries us to March, 1616, when the writer is all but 20 years of age. Probably the engagement was soon terminated, for we learn incidentally from one of his later writings that about midsummer of this year he began to preach in the metropolis. In what particular church, and with what success for a year or two we do not hear; but by the time he reached his majority (we have his word for it a little later) "it pleased God to make his ministry public and eminent." From his undistinguished field of labor, he comes to sight in June, 1619, when as the records of St. Lawrence Jewry inform us, he was elected by the vestry of that Church, Lecturer and Curate, the Rev. William Boswell being Vicar. Here for upwards of five years he taught with growing reputation. The Church of St. Lawrence Jewry was (and its successor, built after the great fire of 1666, is) in the heart of the city, under the eaves of Guildhall, and but a stone's throw from Davenport's next parochial charge, St. Stephen's, Coleman street. To modern London, St. Lawrence Jewry is well known as one of the most ritualistic of her churches, and I should venture to say that even Laud himself would be satisfied with the ceremonies which one can see there now. In Davenport's day it was different: and there he grew in favor with the rising Puritan party, became intimate with some noble families on that side (especially, it appears, with that of Lord Horatio Vere), and began to work out his evident destiny.

The next step was from the curacy here to the vicarage in the adjacent parish. St. Stephen's, Coleman street, was notable then, as now, for the peculiar privilege by which its parishioners elected their own minister, without interference from outside. In 1624 the parish became vacant, and at an election held on October 5th, all but three or four of the seventy-three parishioners present voted for the prominent young preacher next door. But there were reasons why such a promotion was distasteful to the leaders in Church and State, and to those we owe the preservation of some resulting documents, and our knowledge of the facts.

In the State Paper Office in London is a letter from Davenport to the Secretary of State (who was, be it noted, a brother-in-law of one of Davenport's noble friends, Lady Vere), dated a day or two after the Coleman-street election. It begins thus: "It hath bene the will of God (against my naturall desire of privace and retiredness) to make my ministry, for the space of this sixe yeares,

in London, public and eminent, w^ch^ hath caused some to look vpon me with a squint eye and hearken to my sermons with y^e^ least eare, and by all means to endeavor of my discouragement and disgrace, insomuch that I am traduced (as I hear and feare) to his Ma^tie^ for a Puritan, or one that is puritanically affected. If by a Puritan is meant one opposite to y^e^ present Government—I profess (as my subscription also testifyeth) the contrary. My practice hath been answerable to that profession. I have bene a Curat, in St. Lawrence parish in the Old Jury, above five yeares, during w^ch^ time, and in that place (as alsoe y^e^ Ministre doth offer to testify) I have baptized many, but never any w^thout^ the signe of the Cross, I have monethly administered y^e^ Sacrament of y^e^ Lord's Supper, but at no tyme w^thout^ y^e^ Surplice, nor to any but those that kneeled, at w^ch^ tymes also I read the Booke of Common Prayer, in forme and manner as is appointed by the Church. Besides, I have perswaded many to conformity, yea myne own Father and Vncle who are Aldermen of the Citty of Coventry, and were otherwise inclined; yea my desire of this pastorall charge sheweth my resolucion for conformity. 2. If by puritanically affected be meant one that secretly encourageth men in opposition to the present Government, I profess an hearty detestation of such hypocrisy; my public sermons and private discourses have ever aimed at this, to persuade men to give unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and unto God the things that are God's. As for other matters, my plain and open appearing in defense of y^e^ ceremonies hath caused vnto me some opposition from such as disaffect them." . . . .

He goes on to ask the help of Secretary Conway with the King, and with the Bishop of London, Dr. Montaigne. The Secretary's suit with the Bishop elicits a reply, in which is this passage: "Before this business was afoote, I had order from his Ma^tie^ to call Mr. Damport in question for some points of doctrine w^ch^ he had preached, at w^ch^ many y^t^ heard him were scandalized and some getting so desperate y^t^ they were in danger of final desperation, and the fatall accidents y^t^ usually follow in such a case. Besides he was reported to be factious and popular" [i. e., favoring the people] "and to draw after him great congregations and assemblies of common and meane people. After my coming home I found that he was chosen by a *popular election* to this living in Coleman St., and therefore I thought it my Duty to make a stay in it until I might further know his Ma^ties^ pleasure."

A second letter to Secretary Conway follows, urging haste in satisfying the King and the Bishop. He beseeches "whereas my adversary" [Laud?] "objecteth that the man whom he doth injuri-

ously present to the place is more worthy than myselfe, because he hath taken more degrees in y^e^ University than I have, that this may not lessen the Bps. esteeme of me, nor be divulged to my disgrace, since I am a licensed and conformable Minister, and that my want of degrees proceeded not from any want of time or of willingness or of sufficiency (as was well known at Oxford), but from want of meanes (my friends being unwilling) to keepe me longer at the University, my hope is, after I am settled in a certayne competency of means, to recover the degrees, w^ch^ some think I have lost for want of taking the first opportunity."

Another letter follows from the Secretary to the Bishop, urging the points made by Davenport, and speaking of having "the assistance of my Lord of Buckingham's request" in behalf of Davenport—an intimation that this notorious favorite found it somehow to his interest to seem to befriend a suspected Puritan.

Two days later, Oct. 17, Davenport writes a third time to Secretary Conway, thanking him with fulsome words for his success with the Bishop; and urging intercession with the King, saying, "I hear that M^r^ Sidnam, y^e^ King's Page, hath incensed his Ma^tie^ against mee, because above a year since I reproved him for swearing at my Lady Vere's; w^ch^ I marvayle at, since at that time he pretended . . thankfulness." Still another letter follows, on the 19th, from the Curate to the Secretary of State, begging further influence with King James, and enclosing the list of names of the parishioners present at the meeting when he was elected Vicar. In this list, a few can be identified as subsequently associates of their minister in the management of the Company which founded the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; a few others bear names early represented among the founders of New Haven Colony, such as Evans, Hill, Johnson, Barnes, Perkins, Eldred, Blakesly, Jackson, and Thompson. The most notable parishioner was Sir Maurice Abbot, brother of the then Archbishop of Canterbury; but as the Primate was then in disgrace, partly on account of a suspected leaning to Puritanism, the support of his brother may have been worse than useless. The name of Theophilus Eaton is not on the list; and we may infer that he was then of some other London parish, though a few years later he is enrolled among Davenport's hearers.

On a copy of the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England, in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, is the following indorsement, in Davenport's handwriting: "Novemb. 7th, 1624. John Davenporte, Clerk, Vicar of St. Stephens, in Coleman Street, London, did this day above written being Sunday, publiquely read this booke of Articles herein contayned, being in number 39 besides

y^e^ ratificacion, and declared his full and unfeigned assent and consent thereunto, in the tyme of Morning Prayer, next after the second lesson, before the whole Congregacion. As also the said John did, the same day, administer the Holy Communion in the sayd parish, in his surplis, according to y^e^ order præscribed by y^e^ Church of England; in y^e^ præsence of those whose names are here underwritten." Then follow the signatures of the Churchwardens and others, and this completes the transition to a new sphere. We see him entering on his work, in strict conformity to canonical requirements, and with the purpose of honest observance.

The first step he takes, after settling in his new position, is to redeem his pledge of recovering his University degree.

A gentleman in Cambridge, Mass. (Mr. Wm. A. Saunders), is the fortunate owner of a volume,[20] in Davenport's handwriting, between the years 1625 and 1633, on the first page of which he has inscribed the Latin questions to which he made response in his application for a degree on the 18th of May, 1625, ten years after he had been forced to end his term of pupilage. These questions are two of the standard commonplaces of theology: whether the death of Christ wrought salvation for all men, and whether the truly regenerate man can utterly fall from grace. His answers subjoined, in correct hexameter and pentameter, are of course in the negative to both questions; and he went back to London, entitled to write himself a Bachelor of Divinity.

He devotes himself now to regular parish work, which includes, too, more than the perfunctory discharge of duty: for 1625 was the great plague-year, when upwards of 35,000 died in London alone, and one is pleased to find in the Parish Records of St. Stephen's a testimony to his fidelity, in a special vote passed in the spring of 1626, that Mr. Davenport shall have of the parish funds, in respect of his care and pains taken in the time of the visitation of sickness, as a gratuity, the sum of £20.

In the manuscript volume to which I just referred, I find, next to the entry of his degree-questions, undated copies of a correspondence between himself and Dr. Alexander Leighton, the famous father of a more famous son, Archbishop Leighton. This correspondence must, I think, have been in 1626 or 7. Leighton was a pertinacious Scotchman, of advanced ideas in regard to Church ceremonies, and with neither tact nor discretion: a few years later, for his injudicious writings, he suffered such a sentence of mutilation and chastisement as was perhaps never paralleled under a professedly Christian government. At this time he was moved to

[20] Bequeathed by A. B. Davenport to the Yale Library in 1894.

provoke a controversy with Davenport about the custom of kneeling in receiving the sacrament. Davenport's moderate answer, as appropriate now as then, begins as follows: "Sir, When we duely consider y^e^ distresses of y^e^ Reformed Churches in these days, we shall soone conclude with him y^t^ sayd, Non sunt litigandi ista sed orandi tempora: neyther was it my purpose to enter into y^e^ lists of dispute at any tyme, much less now, about such questions as these: for is it not worke enough to preach, vnles we dispute also? or, if we must dispute, were it not better to unite o^r^ forces against those who oppose us in Fundamentalls then to be divided amongst o^r^selves about ceremonialls? Who can, w^th^out sorrowe and feare observe how Atheisme, Libertinisme, Papisme and Arminianisme, both at home and abroad, have stolne in and taken possession of y^e^ house, whilest we are at strife about y^e^ hangings and paintings of it? And y^e^ enimye strikes at y^e^ hearte whilest we buisy o^r^selves in washing y^e^ face of this body. How much better would it beseeme us to combine together in an holy league against y^e^ common adversary, according to Joab's agreement with Abishai (2 Sam., x, 11.), if y^e^ Aramits be stronger then I, thou shalt helpe me, and if y^e^ children of Ammon be too strong for thee, I'le come and succor thee, than thus to resemble those serv^ts^ of Saul and David under y^e^ command of Abner and Joab, each of w^ch^ caught his fellowe by y^e^ head, and thrust his sword into his fellowes side, so they fell downe together." . . . .

Thus he goes on, and in like spirit answers Leighton's fiery questions: showing that as yet he is confident in the safety and wisdom of conformity with the ordinance in this regard: but no principle is involved in the concession, so far as he now sees.

In 1627, at 31 years of age, we first find him in print. In March of this year, four of the most prominent evangelical ministers in London (for such by this time he has become) issue a circular, asking contributions for the relief of persecuted Protestants in the Upper Palatinate, subjects of the Queen of Bohemia, the sister of Charles I. The government had refused aid, and the King himself and Laud (who was now a Bishop and a Privy-Councillor) were ill-suited to have the Roman Court offended by such Ultra-Protestant measures; so that the result of this seemingly humane and christian appeal was to bring its signers before the Star-Chamber and procure them a reprimand: not a conciliatory step to one who was eager just now to conform so far as possible.

In the next month, we have from his pen a preface of twenty pages to a little book on the Christian's Daily Walk, by a country minister, Henry Scudder. The preface shows a large acquaintance

with the fathers, the schoolmen, and the moderns, and a warm interest in all the motives of practical piety. I notice that he speaks with high praise of the writings of Joseph Hall (afterwards Bishop), and styles him "that true Christian English Seneca:" the phrase has attached itself familiarly to the good Bishop, but others had probably used it as early as Davenport.[21] The little book proved a great success; my own copy, dated fifteen years later, is of the 8th edition.

Towards the end of this year, Bishop Montaigne was transferred from London to Durham: an inoffensive man, apparently—specially, perhaps, by contrast, for the king immediately nominated Laud to the vacant see, and though his actual transfer was for some reason delayed a six-month, the shadow of his coming began to darken the paths of suspected Puritans.

In 1628, we have the first two which are preserved (in the British Museum) of a series of nine letters from Davenport to the Lady Mary Vere, whose religious life appears to have been under his direction, though he was some fifteen years her junior. She was a Puritan of the Puritans, and in the coming days of the Long Parliament was selected to take charge of the three children of the King who were in the Parliament's control: at the present date she was with her husband at the Hague, where he was in military command. In one of these two letters, under date of June 30, he mentions that he has waited "in hope to write somewhat concerning the event and success of our High Commission troubles:" but he expects that since Parliament has risen without settling anything, Bishop Laud will take advantage of "a *former quarrel*" and deprive him of his pastoral charge. So he has had some former quarrel with Laud, the details of which are lost to us, and he sees nothing but deprivation before him. But what were these High Commission troubles? Briefly, that some two years earlier it had seemed necessary to a little group of earnest and godly men in London, some preachers, some laymen, to join together in an informal way to secure more employment of men of their own stamp as preachers in the land. As Dr. Bacon has phrased it, they were a sort of Home Missionary Society; their way being to buy in as they had opportunity the rights of patronage of church-livings, and to establish lectureships in the cities and towns where they could not get control of the presentation to a vicarage. Of course this was simply extending evangelical or Puritan ideas, at the expense of the opposite party; and here was a grand chance for Laud to crush them by a decision

[21] See, for example, a letter from Sir Henry Wotton, in the appendix to Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedell.

of the Courts, before which already the Feoffees, as these Trustees were called, had been summoned. But the end is not yet.

In 1629 we notice first his share in another enterprise of more lasting results. The year before, a voluntary association which had been doing something for five or six years to colonize part of the New England coast, obtained a grant of Massachusetts from the Council for New England, and in March, 1629, 26 of this association received a charter from the king as "the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay." In the list of patentees Davenport's name does not appear, for the reason, says his biographer Cotton Mather, that he feared its insertion might provoke the opposition of Laud in the Privy Council: but he was one of the leading spirits in the undertaking, paid £50 towards the expense of obtaining the charter, and when the business of giving orders to the colonists was in hand, and a committee was appointed with full power to draw up directions for Captain Endecott, the head of the government here, Davenport's name is the first on the committee. Of the two elaborate letters of instruction which followed, the second, at least, shows peculiar marks of his hand.

In the same year comes his first printed sermon of which we have knowledge: it is "A Royal Edict for Military Exercises; published in a Sermon preached to the Captains and Gentlemen that exercise Armes in the Artillery Garden at their general Meeting, June 23." But one complete copy is found in this country, and one in England. It is a very perfect specimen of the mode in which the fathers were wont to treat a text as an articulated animal: the six ingenious divisions of the subject in this case being, "Also | he bade them | teach | the children of Judah | the use of the bow. | Behold it is written in the book of Jasher." The Company was the model on which was formed the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston, and its practice-ground was, I think, within the limits of the parish of St. Stephen's.

In this year he appears also, in connection with Dr. Sibbes, as editor and prefacer of four thick volumes of sermons, preached at Lincoln's Inn by Dr. John Preston, of Cambridge, who was the acknowledged leader of the Puritan party at the time of his death in 1628. To these two friends Dr. Preston had bequeathed the care of his sermons preached in London, and the volumes passed through a quick succession of editions.

Going on to 1631, we find on record in the State Paper Office an elaborate answer from Davenport "to certain objections devised against him by Timothy Hood, sometime his Curate." Hood appears to have been a factious person, who had been dismissed by Daven-

port after a brief employment, because he shirked his duties; and he showed his spirit by lodging a complaint, to the effect that Davenport was addicted to Puritan practices, not wearing the surplice, not reading the litany, not insisting on kneeling at the sacrament, and administering to strangers. Davenport's answer is plausible, professing (and he was too cautious to profess it unless with truth) that he hath and doth wear the Surplice according as the Canon doth prescribe; that the litany is regularly read in his Church on Wednesdays and Fridays, and sometimes on Sundays; that whereas his parish contains about 1400 communicants, they cannot all come to the chancel to receive the sacrament, nor can he possibly know them so as to avoid administering to those from other parishes who may attend when their own churches are closed; and in administering from pew to pew, many pews are so filled that it is impossible that many should receive kneeling, whereby he is constrained to administer so as they can receive, but where they can kneel as well as sit he hath advised it, and in case of refusal hath refused to administer.

Whether the complaint was dismissed without judgment on the case, does not appear; but this may quite possibly be the occasion subsequently referred to by Laud as one in which he had used moderation with Davenport, thinking that he had persuaded him and settled his judgment.

A slight evidence of the caution necessary in these days may be found in an entry on the parish records in the spring of the next year, where Davenport makes a formal minute of a case in which he has granted a license to a weak and sickly parishioner to eat flesh during the present Lent.

In the latter part of 1632 proceedings were actively resumed against the Feoffees and the case came before the Court. Among other things, it was charged that the whole concern was a dishonest scheme for making money; but Davenport subsequently drops the remark in a private letter that he for one was much out of pocket by the business. The answer made to the Court is preserved, and finally in February, 1633, proceedings were closed by forcing the dissolution of the association and confiscating the impropriations which they had purchased. Laud in his Diary records that "they were the main instruments for the Puritan faction to undo the Church;" but even he dared not, in the face of the popular feeling, force the criminal part of the suit; so that the Trustees escaped the fines which they might have feared. Just after this we have a glimpse of the overworked minister from another entry in the parish records where, in April, 1633, it is "agreed that Mr. Davenport shall

have out of the parish stock £20. towards his charge in going and coming from the Bathe."

The year beginning so threateningly, with criminal and civil prosecutions impending, was destined to prove the most decisive of his life. Up to this time, if we may trust his own words, he had cherished the belief that by conformity in non-essential ceremonies he could do his work within the pale of the Church. But the manuscript volume which I have mentioned as containing his conservative answer to Leighton on the subject of kneeling at the sacrament, contains also some hundred pages of notes (made, as the internal evidence shows, after 1628, and probably not until 1633), beginning with the ominous heading, "Grounds whereupon y^{e} safety of conformity is built, together with y^{e} sandines of y^{m}." These pages consist of a presentation of the current arguments for conformity, and elaborate answers and refutations. By far the greater part turn on the old question of kneeling, which seems to have been to Davenport the *experimentum crucis;* and the volume contains, I think, the record of his private conversion from a conformist to a nonconformist.

But we learn from other sources of other influences. John Cotton, late vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, sailed for New England about the last of June, in company with Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone; and before leaving, Cotton, and apparently Hooker also, was in conference with Davenport and one or two other London ministers, who hoped to reclaim these esteemed brethren: but Davenport has left on record that this conference did more than all his private investigations to shake his confidence in conformity. They sailed, however, without him, and he turned again to his work. It was reserved for another agent to complete the change.

It was Sunday, the 4th of August, when—suddenly at the last—came news of the death of the old Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, a friend, so long as he had power, of the Puritan party. No one doubted for a moment who would be his successor, and though it was not till Tuesday, the 6th, that the king announced to Laud his intention of advancing him to the primacy, Davenport knew too well the risks he should run if he attempted to retain his position together with his newly found convictions. On Monday, Aug. 5th, he left London for some hidden retreat in the country, and after three months' waiting, finding that messengers of Laud were on his track, crossed to Holland. In a subsequent publication ("Apologeticall Reply," 1636, p. 107) he gives this account of the affair:—

"That I may not be altogether wanting to my selfe, nor injurious to the Reader, in suffering him to be guilty of the sinne of evill surmises, or of slander in heart, for want of information, I doe seriously and sincerely protest, that (so farr as I know myne owne heart) I did not withdraw myselfe, 1. out of any disloyall affection or unduetifull thought towards his Ma^tie^ of great Brittayne, my dread Soveraigne, for whome my hearty prayer shall be, day & night, that *his soule may be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord his God, & that the soules of his enimyes may be flung out, as out of the middle of a sling.* And that *the Lord will cloath his enimies with shame, but upon himselfe let his crowne flourish.* 2, nor out of any Schymaticall propension to forsake the church *assembles* of England, as if I thought there were no true Churches of Christ in the land, *as the manner of some is.* 3, Nor out of idlenes, or wearines of the Lord's plough, nor 4. out of love of ease, that I might pamper the flesh. 5, Nor out of any unrighteous ayme to defraud any one by any meanes. 6, Not as one ashamed of the Gospell, to avoid witnes bearing to the trueth. 7, Nor for any trouble I was in, or feared" [= frightened] "by the civill Magistrate, before whom I was never questioned, in all my life, except for the good and pious buisenes about redeeming impropriations, wherein our righteous dealing was publickly cleared even by his Ma^ties^ Atturney Generall, who prosecuted against us. But the truth is, that having about 17 yeares exercised a publick ministry in London, (about 9 or 10 yeares whereof I was in a Pastorall charge in Colman street) in the latter part of that time I was much perplexed with doubts about the lawfullness of that conformity which I had formerly used, without scruple, in respect of some defects and corruptions and unwarrantable human impositions, whereunto I found myself thereby subjected."

In the Library of the American Antiquarian Society is a manuscript of some seventy-five pages, believed to be in Davenport's hand; and so far as I have had opportunity to examine it, I think it unquestionably his: if so, it must have been addressed to his parishioners at St. Stephen's, just before his fleeing the country. The subject is "Christ's Church, and his government of it." Prefaced is an "Epistle," beginning thus: "To his beloved brethren and Christian freindes, which love the Lord and his t[ruth], grace and peace. Beloved, there are many of you that know the reason why I now am after a sort [driven] to speake to you by wrighting. The earnest desires of some of you [have] bin the greatest inducements to me to leave behind me these notes in yo[ur keeping], some of you charging it as a point of duty and conscience upon [me] to doe what now I am going about in this treatise" . . . Later, after opening his subject, the writer says, "I never had the light nor liberty to preach to you about these things: now the Lord hath shown me his truth, I declare it unto you, which if you willfully or carelesly cast off, be it known I am free from the blood of you." One very curious passage helps to mark the date: in one place it is said; "hence some Jesuites, especially he that writ lately yet most subtilly and hypocritically, Franciscus de St. Clare. that our English

Church cannot lawfully be called haereticks but scismaticks." It is our old friend, Francis de St. Clare, otherwise Christopher Davenport (though *not* a Jesuit) who published in 1633 (not until after September) a famous treatise on the Articles of the Anglican Church paraphrastically considered and explained: a tract which two centuries later formed the basis of the more celebrated "Tract No. 90" by Dr. Newman, and which has been reprinted with a translation by one of the most advanced Anglican Churchmen of our own decade. In it the author considers the Thirty-nine Articles from a Roman Catholic point of view, with the proselyting aim of showing their consistency with the decrees of the Council of Trent.

Early in November, then, Davenport took refuge in Holland, in pursuance of an invitation from his countrymen residing there. At his landing in Haarlem, two of the elders in the Rev. John Paget's English Church at Amsterdam (ten miles distant) met him and escorted him thither, where it was thought that Mr. Paget, now in years, might welcome him as an assistant. In his own mind, however, remained the hope that some way might be opened by his friends at Court to secure his return to England in the spring. But the parish of St. Stephen's provided themselves early in December with a new Vicar.

A letter to Lady Vere (at the Hague) written, I think, immediately on his arrival at Amsterdam, is preserved, in which he says: "The persecution of the tongue is more fierce and terrible than that of the hand. At this time I have sense of both." [Referring, probably, to false rumors as to the cause of his flight.] . . . "The truth is I have not forsaken my ministry, nor resigned my place, much less separated from the Church, but am only absent a while to wait upon God, upon the settling and quieting of things, for light to discern my way . . . The only cause of all my sufferings is the alteration of my judgment in matters of conformity to the ceremonies established."

He now begins preaching (twice each Sunday at first) in Mr. Paget's Church, but soon finds a stumbling-block in the loose way of administering baptism which Paget had practised. The result was a little controversy, on Davenport's side purely on account of his scruple about baptizing all infants, without assurance of the church-membership and Christian walk of the parents: on Paget's side, other considerations had weight, a jealousy of the fervor and eloquence of this new-comer, and perhaps a willingness to serve his own ends by taking advantage of the ill-favor shown to Davenport by the home-authorities.

The controversy sped so fast that Paget brought the case before

the Dutch Classis of city ministers, who named a committee to propose a basis of settlement. This committee of five of the most eminent theologians of Amsterdam delivered their judgment in January (a copy of which was transmitted to Laud, and so was insured preservation in English archives),[22] in which, while commending Davenport's erudition and piety, and approving his zeal in urging the examination of parents presenting children for baptism, they yet leave a large loop-hole for doubtful cases, in which on the whole they would administer the ordinance. Davenport remonstrated, but Paget prevailed, and Davenport desisted from preaching after less than six months' service.

Meantime another side-light is thrown on these events by the letters of Stephen Goffe, at this time Chaplain of an English Regiment at the Hague, a busybody angling for preferment, and so heartily in sympathy with Laudian tendencies that he found his true home in the Roman Church before many years. A parallel instance to the divergencies in Davenport's own family manifests itself here, for this Goffe was a brother of the Regicide whose later life was so curiously dependent on Davenport. This man, on Davenport's landing at Haarlem, sends off the news to a London friend, to be laid before the Archbishop, and follows up his victim with a succession of venomous epistles which still remain, labeled by Laud's own hand. From this witness we learn that he himself shared in the successful effort to thwart Davenport's chance of preaching in the English Church at Amsterdam. Goffe says in a letter of December 16th, that he has been to see Paget and also Gerard Vossius, a Professor at Amsterdam and of the magistracy of the city, remembered in our day as one of the most learned of Dutch philologists, and then a recent visitor to England and guest of Archbishop Laud. Goffe reports that he has told Vossius that Davenport "is very dangerous in dealing in secular affairs, to the troubling of places in which he dwelt." He urges that Vossius should have letters from London to encourage him, and which shall not omit to tickle him by praising the excellent lectures which he has just published. He makes it clear, however, that it will not do to accuse Davenport in Holland of neglect of ceremonies, as that would be agreeable in that quarter rather than otherwise, but that stress must be laid rather on his carriage towards the King as the head of the State, in stealing out of England when writs were issued against him, and in not reporting himself to his Majesty's agent at the Hague. Another of Goffe's letters, in February,

[22] In Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1634-5, p. 469; the document is wrongly calendared (as of 163½, instead of 163¾).

claims that his plan has succeeded, and that Davenport cannot be elected to a position at Amsterdam, because he is known as a deserter, and has preached (since coming over) against the civil government of England: he hopes that "we shall be delivered from this plague, and he will make for New England." On the strength of this information, apparently, Davenport was summoned by the King's agent, resident at the Hague, to clear himself by answers to certain questions of the charge of preaching against the English government; and his reply, dated March 18, 1634, is preserved among the Agent's papers in the British Museum. It begins thus:

"Honorable Sir, When I first came into these parts, my purpose was to stay here but 3 or 4 moneths, and that time being expired, to returne for England my native country, had not the sinister & slanderous information, whereof I complained in [my] last, exasperated the Arch Bp. of Cant. to reproachfull inuectives, and bitter mena[ces] against me in the High Commission, whereby my returne is made much more difficult, and hazardous than I could suspect . . . . The particulars, wherein I have changed, are no other then the same, for which many worthy ministers, and lights eminent for godlines and learning have suffered the loss of theyre ministry and liberty: some whereof are now in perfect peace, and rest, others are dispersed in seuerall countreyes, and some yet liue in England as priuate persons, who were and are loyall and faythfull subjects to theyre soueraigne, and have witnessed against haeresyes, and schysme, and against all sectaryes, as Familists, Anabaptists & Brownists, against all which I also witnes, in this place, wherunto I had not come, if I could have bene secure of a safe and quiett abode in my deare natiue country.

"If that way of questioning should pass upon all men, which your wisdom iudgeth meete in this case (as will appear upon your revew of the second question) I thinck, they that iudge me will be found, in some particulars, to have spoken against the gouernm[t] of England. All that I spake was concerning the gesture of sitting, used in this country in receiuing the sacrament of y[e] lords supper, which I approved and preferred before kneeling, grounding what I sayd upon Luke *22*: *27* to 31; wherein I named not England nor the gouernment thereof, and so carryed the discourse that it might be applyed as well to the popish or Lutherane custom here as to any other, and passed it ouer so breifly that all I sayd may be written in a very few lines, nor did I euer heare that any man tooke offence thereat, but this informer, who was discontented the weeke before at a sermon wherein some Arminian errours were touched vpon by me, which quickened him to watch for some advantage whereupon he might ground an accusation." . . .

After ceasing, in April, to preach in Paget's church, he appears to have remained through the year in Amsterdam, holding a private service at his lodgings on Sundays, at such an hour as not to interfere with the public preaching, and adhered to by a large minority of his countrymen there.

At the end of the year, one of this number printed, without the author's knowledge, Davenport's argument before the Dutch Classis

on the question of indiscriminate baptism, and also some instructions drawn up by him for the guidance of his adherents in the Church, and his statement of their grievances. The little pamphlet (only three copies of which are known to exist[23]) made a great stir, perhaps from the justice of its conclusions, and brought out a reply from Paget. It brought out also a "Protestation" from Davenport, printed at Rotterdam in January, 1635, complaining of the unauthorized publication of his views, and disclaiming controversy. In this connection comes in a letter written in July, 1635, to his old friend, Lady Vere, now in England. In this he refers to Paget thus: "myselfe also being in some distractions by y^e^ unquiett spirit of the old man, who to all his former injuryes addeth this, that he hath now published a tedious booke in English, full of reproaches and slanders against me. . . . . This I am now constrayned to answer for y^e^ trueths sake." There is also this paragraph: "It may be of good use to prevent praejudice in the *Queenes* if your Honor when you are pleased to wright to her, and my Lady Leicester(?), take notice of theyre favour to me, and pray them not to be praejudiced by any suggestions against me from that booke or otherwise till they may peruse my answer. This I desire not for any use I have of the Queenes favour, but that shee may not be hindred from receiving good by my ministry, which yet she well esteemeth." As this must refer to Elizabeth, dowager Queen of Bohemia (sister of Charles I), who had for some years resided at or near the Hague, and who was strongly evangelical, we must conclude that he was by this time removed to that city, and that she was an attendant on his occasional ministry.

By a letter six months later to Lady Vere, he appears to have gone to Rotterdam, pathetically describing himself as "a poore Pilgrim, a banished man." At Rotterdam he published in 1636 his "Apologeticall Reply" to Paget, a volume of 350 pages, of which two copies are found in this country.

Late in 1636, or early in 1637, he ventured to England again, probably as the guest of Lady Vere at Hackney; he was reported as in that neighborhood by Laud's Vicar-General in March, 1637, but eluded all vigilance and got off safely (probably about the middle of April), with the colony of which Theophilus Eaton was the civil leader, for New England. At the end of April came a Proclamation, forbidding further emigration, except under stringent conditions of conformity, which may have been devised to meet this very case.

[23] Reprinted in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October, 1909.

At Boston they arrived on the 26th of June, and there they tarried for nine months. During that time Davenport assisted at an important ecclesiastical Synod of the Colony, and was named one of the committee of twelve, to put into effect the vote just passed establishing a college at Newtown. But by March, 1638, the settlement at Quinnipiac was agreed on, and a fortnight before the little company sailed from Boston to this harbor, Davenport and Eaton addressed to the authorities of the Bay a farewell letter, which was written by Davenport, as the autograph in existence still testifies, and as would perhaps be betrayed by its use of the same reference to Joab and Abishai which he quoted a dozen years before in his letter to Leighton.

To New Haven, then, Davenport is brought, in April, 1638, at the age of 42, with the large responsibility of organizing a new republic. There is no need that I should follow closely the steps of our early history, so well traced by others, and for which so little new material can be found. The first documents of the colony are the two treaties with the Indians, for the form of which, however, I conceive that Eaton rather than Davenport was responsible.

But the first year at New Haven furnished two small contributions from Davenport's pen to the press, which are most valuable as illustrations of the spirit in which the experiment of the New England Colonies was undertaken. The one, a "Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation whose Design is Religion," was printed long after, in 1663. The other, printed in 1643, was part of "An Answer of the Elders of the severall churches in New-England unto Nine Positions sent over to them" by their Puritan brethren at home, who naturally viewed with disfavor the new style of Church Government. In both of these tracts Davenport is seen at his best as a reasoner.

In 1639, we may remember, the government of New Haven was organized: on the 4th of June, the planters met in Mr. Newman's barn, and after a sermon from the pastor agreed on the fundamental articles of civil government proposed by him, as is written in full in our Colony Records. Then on the 22d of August, the church was gathered, and as a permanent memorial of the pastor's system of doctrine we have the brief Profession of Faith which he made at that time, and which was printed in London two years later. I am not aware that its teaching differs anywise from that of the Church of England, except of course in the sections concerning the manner of gathering a church, and concerning church officers.

A letter sent by him the next month from Quinnipiac to Lady Vere mentions the encouraging incidents of the colony's progress,

adding, "And, which is more, the Lord our God hath here bestowed upon us the greatest outward privilege under the sun, to have and injoy all his ordinances purely dispensed in a church gathered and constituted, according to his owne minde."

The letter mentions that the captain of the first ship just arrived from England was so pleased with the sight of the harbor "that he called it the Fair Haven:" the suggestion perhaps for the name deliberately given to the plantation a year later.

Then in October we have the first election of magistrates, and Davenport giving Governor Eaton a formal charge founded on a passage from the words of Moses.

The years pass without special events. In January, 1646, the colony made a notable effort for commercial advancement in the equipment of a ship for England, in which Davenport forwarded a stock of manuscripts for the press: among them a volume on the Power of Congregational Churches, a series of sermons on the Hours of Temptation, and another on Christ's shaking heaven and earth to establish his kingdom.

The vessel passed out of sight beneath the horizon, and later into our legendary history as the 'Phantom Ship,' whose loss cast a gloom over the colony, not lessened by the supposed supernatural appearance which tradition has handed down. The Power of Congregational Churches, the most elaborate of the works thus shipwrecked, was rewritten a few years later, and sent again for publication, but did not reach the press till after the author's death.

As a part of the record for 1649 I find in the Prince Library in Boston, a draft of a letter from Davenport to Charles Chauncy, then a pastor in Scituate, who had applied for advice as to immersion, which he used in baptisms: Davenport's answer discourages the practice. The letter is doubtless one of many that came to him as a leader of the churches, but so far as I know is the only one of its kind which is preserved.

In 1652 he sends over another volume to the printer. It was a vindication of Jesus as the Jewish Messiah, and was originally preached as a series of sermons to his people, and then forwarded to John Cotton of Boston for his judgment as to its fitness for publication. The interesting autograph letter to Cotton in which this matter is referred to is now in the possession of a member of this Society. In the preface to the book he says: "My far distance from the press, and the hazards of so long a voyage by Sea, had almost discouraged me from transmitting this Copie: foreseeing that whatsoever σφαλματα are committed by the Printer, men disaffected will impute to the Author; and being sensible of my great

loss of some Manuscripts, by a wrack at sea, together with the lives of sundry precious ones, about six years since. Yet if the Printer acquit himself well in this, and God be pleased to make it acceptable and profitable to the Reader, I shall be encouraged to publish more, as God shall give liberty and opportunity." I give this extract, partly to expose an absurd blunder of an English editor of our day, the Rev. Mr. Grosart, who in his edition of the works of Dr. Sibbes, one of the noted Puritans, casting about for a reason why no biography of Sibbes was left by any contemporary, unfortunately stumbles on this passage, and sagely interprets the "lives of sundry precious ones," the loss of which Davenport laments, and which we know to be the company of New Haven men and women who went down in the 'Phantom ship,' as a collection of biographies, which likely enough included one of the great Dr. Sibbes. So much for the perils of interpretation.

With 1653 we have the first of a series of letters to Governor Winthrop, of New London, over twenty of which have been published, and some thirty I believe still remain unprinted, to which I have not had access.[24] Those published are of varying degrees of interest, but my purpose is served by the mere reference to them.

In the Library of Yale College we have another precious manuscript volume of Davenport's outlines of his sermons preached from July, 1656, to August, 1658: at that time, as through most of his ministry here, he had an assistant who relieved him in part: in other words, the sermons described do not cover all the preaching from New Haven pulpit between these dates. The most of the volume is occupied with a series of expositions on five chapters of Luke's Gospel. During the period covered by the volume, Governor Eaton died suddenly (on Thursday, January 7, 1658); and one looks curiously to see if the sermon-book of his life-long friend contain any reference to the loss: but the following Sunday is occupied with an exposition of the parable of the Pharisee and Publican, and the notes do not yield a tear or a sigh.

In 1659 was printed in London "A Catechisme containing the Chief Heads of Christian Religion. Published, at the desire, and for the use of the Church of Christ at New Haven. By John Davenport, Pastor, and William Hooke, Teacher." One of the three known copies is in our College Library. The preparation of this Catechism must be placed at least three years before its publication, as Hooke had gone back to England in 1656. As a full exhibition, in 62 pages, of the form of doctrine held by Davenport,

[24] Seventeen letters (1638-60) to Winthrop are in the New York Public Library.

the book is of course invaluable. To one who is not an expert in that line it seems that there is little or no variance from the standards of the English Church, except of course in regard to church organization and government. For instance, the doctrine of the resurrection of the body is taught in the plainest terms, while the Church is defined as "a Company of believers, or saints by calling, together with their seed, joined together in fellowship with the Lord Jesus, and one with another as a spiritual political body."

In 1660 we have two separate evidences of his multiform activity. On the 4th of June he delivered up to the General Court of the Colony his trusteeship of the fund given by Edward Hopkins for a college at New Haven, with a long statement of the designs of the donor and of his own desires. This ceremony, which has been justly celebrated as the foundation of our Grammar School, is quite as really an epoch in the train of events which led forty years later to the erection of Yale College. New Haven had already furnished half a dozen graduates for Cambridge, and the prophetic eye of Davenport fixed on this spot as the site of a new college. Steps to such an end had been taken long before, and it was only the development of his ideas (working largely through his successor in the pastoral office, James Pierpont), which brought the college here in the next generation.

In this year a letter was received from John Dury, a Scotchman who was laboring to promote the union of the Calvinistic and Lutheran Churches, and was answered in the name of the ministers of the Colony by Davenport in a Latin epistle, of which large extracts are preserved in print.

In 1661, New Haven (and especially Mr. Davenport) sheltered the two Regicides, Whalley and Goffe; and some time before their coming he preached to his people a series of sermons preparatory to such questions about harboring traitors as their presence might excite. These sermons were printed in London in this year, and four or five copies are in existence. In this connection comes also a very hard letter to read, with our present knowledge, in which Davenport explains to the King's agent his own ignorance of the Regicide matter, and which I wish for his sake were blotted out.

In the spring of 1662 the separate existence of the New Haven Colony was threatened by Gov. Winthrop's obtaining for Connecticut a charter including this settlement. The struggles of the next two or three years ended with the absorption of this Colony in Connecticut in January, 1665, but every step to this result was contested by a series of admirable state-papers, in which Davenport's hand was plain. When this episode, with the sacrifice which it

involved of the principles on which this Colony was founded, was over, he employs in a letter to Gov. Leverett of Massachusetts the phrase which doubtless reflects the prevailing tone of his thoughts for the rest of life: "You see my zeal for preserving Christ's interest in your parts, though in New Haven Colony it is miserably lost."

Meantime an important theological controversy also was on his hands. In September, 1662, a Synod of Massachusetts ministers met in Boston, chiefly to consider the question of the admission of baptized children to Church privileges,—such as presenting their children for baptism without any profession of their own Christian faith. Against this new way, which in the issue led to so much trouble in the next century, Davenport used his pen with power. His argument, entitled "Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth," was printed in 1663 at Cambridge, with a preface by Increase Mather, as yet a young unordained preacher. The Essay was answered by Richard Mather, father of Increase, and Davenport prepared and forwarded for publication in 1664 a Vindication of his former treatise: but through some backwardness in those to whom he transmitted it,—probably Increase Mather himself, who was by this time converted to his father's views,—the Vindication remained in manuscript, and is believed to be still in existence in the autograph collection of the Rev. Dr. Sprague: a copy, however, is in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.

We pass on to 1667, when Davenport was in his 72d year. On the 7th of August, John Wilson, the original minister of the First Church in Boston, died at the age of seventy-nine; and in September, after a struggle which resulted in the formation of a new church, now the Old South, Davenport was chosen his successor. Wilson, with a large minority of the church, had supported the conclusions of the recent Synod, as to the subjects of baptism; and so Davenport's election was a triumph of the Anti-Synodists, who were elsewhere clearly in a minority. By accepting the call, he stirred the flame of controversy anew, and moreover must have alienated in great degree the affections of the people whom he had led into this wilderness. To Boston, however, he went in 1668, arriving on the 2d of May, but not being installed until the 9th of December. In the following spring he preached the Election Sermon, which was printed, though only a single copy is now discoverable. In the same year he published in England a couple of fast-day sermons, and here his work ended. On Wednesday evening, March 16, 1670, he died in Boston, in his 74th year, from a paralytic stroke, after three days' illness. There one may see his tomb, in King's Chapel burying ground; and here we have his

portrait, painted apparently after his death by some rude Boston artist. The inventory of his estate amounted to £1250, 18^{s}, 10½^{d}: there are books prized at £233, 17^{s}; apparel, £30; in money, £193, 10^{s}, 4½^{d}; in plate, £50; dwelling house and land, £400; one servant boy, £10.

WRITINGS OF JOHN DAVENPORT.

[I have here included under the dates of composition (or of publication) all the writings of Davenport of which I have knowledge. I have added the whereabouts of the copies of his printed works, so far as I know of any, not of course expecting to reach completeness in this respect. The initials used refer to the following libraries; A. A. S., American Antiquarian Society; Bodl., Bodleian; B. Ath., Boston Athenæum; B. Publ., Boston Public Library; G. B., the late George Brinley; Br. Mus., British Museum; F. B. D., my own; H. M. D., the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D.D.; H. U., Harvard University; M. H. S., Mass. Historical Society; Pr., Prince Library; U. S., Library of Congress; Y. C., Yale College.]

1615–16. MS. volume of sermons, preached at Hilton Castle; presented to Y. C. in 1794 by his great-great-grandson, Hon. James Davenport, of Stamford.

1624, Oct.–Nov. Five MS. letters to the Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State; in the Record office, London. Abstracts are in Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1623-25, pp. 354-7, 371.

1625, May 18. Response in his examination for degree of B.D., at Oxford; in a MS. volume, now in the Yale Library.

[1625–28?]. In the last named volume, reply to Dr. Alexander Leighton, about Kneeling at the Sacrament; also, other memoranda on conformity.

1627, Mch. 2. A circular letter, signed by him in conjunction with Thomas Taylor, Richard Sibbes, and William Gouge, asking help for Palatinate Christians; in Calendar Dom. State Papers, 1627-28, p. 77, and in Sibbes' Works, ed. Grosart, v. i, p. lviii.

1627, Apr. 25. An Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to Henry Scudder's "Christian's Daily Walk."

1627, July 15. MS. report of a Sermon from I Peter v, 5. See Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. 50 (1917), p. 205.

1628, Jan. 18. The first of a series of nine manuscript letters to Lady Mary Vere; in the Br. Mus., Birch MSS., 4275; printed in the Davenport Genealogy, 312.

1628, June 8. MS. report of a Sermon from Hebr. xiii, 15. In Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, vol. 50, p. 207.

1628, June 30. Second letter to Lady Vere; Davenport Geneal., 314.

1629, Apr.–June. Two letters from a committee (of which he is the first named) of the "Company of the Massachusetts Bay," to John Endecott; in Transactions A. A. S., iii, 30*a*, 79, 96.

1629. "A Royall Edict for Military Exercises; published in a Sermon preached to the *Captaines* and *Gentlemen* that exercise Armes in the *Artillery Garden*," June 23, 1629. Lond. 4°. pp. viii, 27. B. Ath., Bodl., and an imperfect copy in A. A. S.

1629, Dec. 26. Third letter to Lady Vere.

1629. Preface, signed jointly by him and the Rev. Richard Sibbes, D.D., to the following works of the Rev. John Preston, D.D., late Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge: The New Covenant; The Breast Plate of Faith and Love; The Saints' Qualification. Reprinted in Grosart's edition of Sibbes' Works, v. i, pp. xcv-c.

1631, Jan. 15. MS. answer "to certaine obiections devised against him by Timothy Hood, sometyme his Curate"; in Record Office, London. An abstract is in the Calendar Dom. State Papers, 1629-31, p. 483.

1633, Febr. 11. An entry in his "Great Bible" acknowledging God's help in the matter of the Feoffees; quoted in the Magnalia, Bk. 3, Pt. 1, ch. 4.

[1633, Nov.?]. MS. on "Christ's Church, and his government of it"; in A. A. S.

[1633, Nov.?]. Fourth letter to Lady Vere; printed in Davenport Geneal.

1634, Mch. 18. Letter to Sir Wm. Boswell, agent of the King of England at the Hague; in Br. Mus., Additional MSS., No. 6394, p. 196, and M. H. S. Proc., v. 42, p. 228.

1634 [Dec.]. "A Ivst Complnt. against an Vnivst Doer. . . ." containing: a translation of a Latin letter written (in Febr., 1634) to the Classis of Amsterdam; "Certaine Instructions delivered to the Elders of the English Church," dated Apr. 28, 1634; "The Greivances, and Complaints of the . . English Church in Amsterdam, Anno 1634. The 18. of October"; and further remarks. This pamphlet (4°, pp. iii, 24), was published by Wm. Best, without the author's knowledge. In Br. Mus., Bodl. and Union Theol. Sem. Reprinted in M. H. S. Proceedings, Oct., 1909.

1635, Jan. "A Protestation Made and Published upon occasion of a pamphlett, Intitled A Ivst Complaint against an vnivst doer . . ." Rotterdam. 4°. pp. 7. In Rev. D. Williams's Libr., London. Reprinted in M. H. S. Proceedings, Oct., 1909.

1635, July 21. Fifth letter to Lady Vere.

1635, Dec. 15. Sixth letter to the same.

1636 [Jan.?]. Seventh letter to the same; printed, in part, in Davenport Genealogy, p. 317.

1636. "Apologeticall Reply to an answer [by J. Paget] to the unjust complaint of W. B[est]. . . ." Rotterdam. 4°. pp. xx, 334. In Br. Mus., Bodl., Pr., and G. B.

1638, Mch. 12. Letter (in his hand, signed also by Theophilus Eaton) to the Governor, Deputy, and Assistants of Massachusetts. Printed in Collections of Mass. Hist. Soc., 3d Series, vol. 3, p. 165, in Savage's 2d ed. of Winthrop's Journal, i, 484, and in Davenport Geneal., 323.

1638. "An Answer of the Elders of the severall Churches in New-England unto Nine Positions, sent over to them (by divers . . Ministers in England) . ." This was printed as pages 49-78 of a volume entitled "Church-Government and Church-Covenant discussed . ." London: 1643. 4°. Pr., A. A. S., U. S., and F. B. D.

According to Lechford's Note-Book, he also wrote about this time an Answer to John Ball about the Common Prayer Book.

[1638–9?]. "Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation whose Design is Religion." Cambridge, New England. 1663. 4°. pp. 24. "In the Title page whereof, the Name of Mr. *Cotton,* is, by Mistake, put for that of Mr. *Davenport.*" (Magnalia, Bk. 3, Pt. 1, Ch. 4.) In Pr., M. H. S., B. Ath., H. U., and G. B.

[1639, Aug. 22?]. "A Profession of Faith, made at his admission into one

of the Churches of God in New England." I have a copy printed as pages 34-40 of John Cotton's "Covenant of Gods free Grace." London, 1645. 4°. The same, printed separately (London, 1642. 4°. pp. 8), is in Br. Mus., Bodl., U. S., H. M. D., the library of the late Rev. Horace Bushnell, D.D., and G. B. Br. Mus. and B. Publ. have it, appended to Cotton, as above, 1645. Reprinted with Preface, by the Rev. Dr. Bacon, New Haven. 1853. 12°.

1639, Sept. 28. Eighth letter to Lady Vere; printed in N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register, ix, 149.

1644, Aug. 14. Remarks at the trial of Mrs. Eaton; in the records of the New Haven Church, and printed in Bacon's Hist. Discourses, 297.

1647, Nov. 13. Ninth Letter to Lady Vere. A tenth undated letter (probably 1636) is printed in M. H. S. Proc., v. 42, p. 211.

[1648, or earlier.] "The Knowledge of Christ Indispensably required of all men that would be saved . . ." A volume of sermons, from Acts ii, 36, with the running-title, "The True Messias or Crucified Jesus the Christ." London. 1653. 4°. pp. vi, 87. In Br. Mus., Bodl., Univ. of Aberdeen, A. A. S., U. S., and G. B.

[1649?] MS. letter to the Rev. Charles Chauncy, of Scituate; no. 21 of pt. 2 of the Cotton Papers in Pr.

1650, May 6. Letter to the Rev. John Cotton, of Boston; printed in Davenport Geneal., 343.

[1652?] "The Power of Congregational Churches Asserted and Vindicated; In answer to a Treatise of Mr. J. Paget . ." London. 1672. 16°. pp. x, 179 [or, by correct numeration, 163]. In Pr., M. H. S., H. U., A. A. S., Amer. Congregational Association, H. M. D., and F. B. D.

1653, Aug. 20. Letter to John Winthrop, of New London. In Bacon, 366.

1653, Aug. 25. MS. letter to Mrs. Sarah Cotton, of Boston; in Mather Papers, vol. i, no. 14, in Pr. Printed in M. H. S. Coll., xxxviii, 546.

1655, Mch. 10. Letter to J. Winthrop. In Bacon, 367, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 6.

1655, Apr. 14–19. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 369, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 8.

1655, July 6. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 370, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 11.

1655, Nov. 22. Letter to the same. In Davenport Geneal., 346, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 12.

1655, Nov. 30. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 371, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 14.

[1656, or earlier.] "A Catechisme containing the Chief Heads of Christian Religion." By Davenport, and his assistant in the ministry, William Hooke. London, 1659. 16°. pp. 62. In Br. Mus., D. Williams Libr., and Y. C. Reprinted (with Davenport's "Profession of Faith"), New Haven, 1853. 12°.

1656, July 13–1658, Aug. 8. MS. outlines of sermons; in volume of 312 pages, 12°, in Y. C.

1658. Letter to the Church in Wethersfield. In Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., ii, 88.

1658. He is said by Wood (Athenæ Oxonienses, ed. Bliss, iii, 891), to have "had a considerable hand in writing the life of Mr. John Cotton . . published by John Norton."

1658, July 20. Letter to J. Winthrop. In Bacon, 372, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 19.

1658, Aug. 4. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 373, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 21.

1658, Oct. 22. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 375.

1659, Febr. 28. Remarks at a town meeting. In Bacon, 119, and in N. H. Town Records, 1649-62, pp. 392-94.

1659, Mch. 18. Letter to J. Winthrop. In Bacon, 375, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 23.

1659, Apr. 15. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 377.

1659, Sept. 28. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 378, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 25.

1660, Febr. 22. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 379, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 29.

1660, March 29. Letter to the same. In Davenport Geneal., 379, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 30.

1660, Apr. 5. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 381, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 31.

1660, Apr. 13. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 382, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 33.

1660, June 4. Letter of resignation of trusteeship of the Hopkins Fund, addressed to the General Court of New Haven. In Trumbull's Hist. of Conn., 2d ed., i, 532.

1660, July 20. Letter to J. Winthrop. In M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 34.

1660, Aug. 11. Letter to the same. In Davenport Geneal., 350, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 37.

1660, Oct. 17. Letter to J. Winthrop. In Davenport Geneal., 353, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 42.

1660, Nov. 27. Letter to the same. In Bacon, 385, and M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 44.

[1660?] Latin letter to the Rev. John Dury. Extracts in the Magnalia, Bk. iii, pt. i, ch. 4. See, also, S. Mather's Apology for the Liberties of the Churches, p. 166.

1661, Aug. 19. Letter to Sir Thomas Temple. In Davenport Geneal., 356, and M. H. S. Coll., xxviii, 327.

1661. "The Saint's Anchor-Hold . . . Sundry Sermons." London. 12°. pp. viii, 231. In Br. Mus., Pr., G. B., library of the Rev. Dr. Bacon, Library of Lane Theol. Seminary.

1662, July. Letters to Wm. Goffe. In M. H. S. Coll., xxxviii, 198, 192, 181.

1662, Nov. 5. Answer of the Freemen of New Haven Colony to Connecticut; perhaps by Davenport. In Trumbull's Conn., 2d ed., i, 515.

1663, March 23. Letter to the Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth. In M. H. S. Coll., xxxviii, 547.

1663, May 6. A second letter to Connecticut. In Trumbull's Conn., i, 517.

1663. "Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth, . . concerning, I. The Subject of Baptism, II. The Consociation of Churches." Cambridge, N. E. 4°. pp. xvi, 71. The Preface (pp. xvi) is by Increase Mather; pp. 65-71 are filled by "Considerations . . by the Rev. Nicholas Street." In Br. Mus. and G. B. Imperfect copies in H. U. and H. M. D.

1664. A MS. "Vindication" of the last-named Essay. In the library of the late Rev. W. B. Sprague, D.D., of Flushing, N. Y. A copy is in A. A. S.

1664, Dec. 14. A third letter from N. H. Colony to Conn. In Trumbull, i, 526.

1665, Jan. 5. The final letter to Conn.; *ibid.*, i, 528.

1665, June 24. Letter to Maj. Gen. John Leverett, of Boston. In Hutchinson's Collections, 392.

1665, Nov. 2. MS. letter to William Goodwin, of Hadley; no. 35*a* in vol. i of Mather Papers, in Pr.; printed (in part) in M. H. S. Coll., xxxviii, 126.

1666, Apr. 10. Letter to J. Winthrop. In M. H. S. Coll., xxx, 58.

1666, June 14. Letter to the same; *ibid.*, xxx, 59.

1667, Sept. 18. "Epistle to the Reader," pp. xi, prefixed to Increase Mather's "Mystery of Israel's Salvation." London, 1669. 16°. In B. Publ., G. B., and F. B. D.

1667, Oct. 8 and 28. Two letters to the First Church, Boston. In Hill's Hist. of the Old South Church, vol. 1, pp. 18, 21.

1668, Apr. 18. Transfer of the Hopkins Fund to the General Court of Conn.; in MS. Records of N. H. Hopkins Grammar School, p. 4.

1669, May 19. "A Sermon [from 2 Sam. xxiii, 3] Preach'd at the Election of the Governour, at Boston" . . 1670. 4° pp. 16. In B. Publ., and photolithographed in Publications of the Colonial Society of Mass., vol. 10, 1906.

1669. Catechism. No copy known to be extant. See Proceedings of A. A. S., Oct., 1897, p. 98.

1669. "God's Call to His People to Turn unto Him." Cambridge, England. 4°. pp. 27. In Bodl., B. Publ., and G. B.

In 1687 appeared a folio sheet of "Proposals for Printing . . an Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles by the late . . John Davenport." A copy is in Br. Mus. Wood says that the MS. was 100 sheets, but that the intending publisher died before the design was carried out.

In the MS. Winthrop Papers of M. H. S. are thirty unprinted letters of Davenport.

THE FOUNDING OF YALE COLLEGE.

By Franklin B. Dexter.

[From the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Vol. III, 1882. Read February, 1876.]

In the Colony of New Haven, from its beginning in 1638, till the union with Connecticut, in 1665, the ruling spirit was John Davenport, pastor of the church in this town. As a scholar, he ranked with the very first of the immigrants to New England; and it was not a mere compliment that on his way hither, while tarrying over the winter of 1637-38 in Boston, he was named on the committee to carry into effect the vote of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, fixing a College at Cambridge. The incident was not needed to suggest to a man of his clear foresight that the colony which he led would also need its college. And just ten years after (March 23, 1647-8), the records show that the General Court here gave power to a select committee of the town of New Haven "to consider and reserve what lot they shall see meet and most commodious for a college, which they desire may be set up so soon as their ability will reach thereunto." A lot appears to have been designated accordingly, but the work received some check, and the records are silent until 1654 (May 22), when "the town was informed that there is some motion again on foot concerning the setting up a college here." A year later (May 21, 1655), the subject was discussed in town-meeting, when Mr. Davenport, and his associate in the ministry, Mr. Hooke, were "present, and spake much to encourage the work." Subscriptions were solicited, and when the General Court of the colony met the next week (May 30), Governor Eaton announced that above £300 were promised from New Haven alone. Milford followed with a promise of £100, and the other plantations took up the matter. The result was reported to a town-meeting in July, as about £240 promised outside of New Haven. This was thought enough to buy and fit up a house, and it was agreed to provide from the New Haven treasury a yearly stipend of £60 for a president's salary and incidental expenses. Still, the project halted; the college was not begun, and in May, 1659, the Court took the humbler step of ordering that a grammar school be established for the benefit

of the colony. Another year slipped by without any visible result from this, till the Court supplemented its order by fixing the school at New Haven. At this juncture, Mr. Davenport, as a trustee under the will of Edward Hopkins, made over to the Court a claim on that estate for a legacy intended to be used in establishing a college here. The design now was to carry on the two enterprises side by side, grammar school and college; and a few weeks later a teacher for the school was appointed who was to begin (and apparently did begin) his work in October; but a litigation concerning the Hopkins legacy interfered with the other part of the scheme, and after a feeble vitality of two years, the General Court discontinued the colony grammar school in November, 1662. At last, in April, 1664, Mr. Davenport was able to offer to the town the Hopkins fund for its use in the way of higher education, and from that date the Hopkins Grammar School of New Haven has a continuous history. The turn of public affairs in the union of the colony with Connecticut, and the consequent disappointment and departure of Mr. Davenport, joined with other causes, prevented the development of a Hopkins College; but the purpose that the minister of New Haven had cherished so long and inculcated so unweariedly was transmitted to his successors, with strength and clearness sufficient to ensure its accomplishment in the next generation.

Meantime, the college at Cambridge, begun in the same year with the New Haven plantation, received all the patronage which these settlements could afford to give to so distant an Alma Mater. There were among the founders of New Haven and Connecticut proportionately fewer university men than in Massachusetts, but through their influence and the influence of their successors, nearly sixty students from these colonies went to Harvard, making one-eighth of the whole number of her graduates, before the establishment of the Collegiate School of Connecticut. And thanks to the spirit of John Davenport, almost a third of the whole number, more than from any other two towns in the list, came from New Haven. Moreover, out of their scanty resources, for a long series of years, these settlements made generous annual contributions to the needs of the poor scholars at Cambridge, in answer to appeals for such aid.

The attempt has sometimes been made to show that the founding of Yale College was due to a dissatisfaction on the part of the stricter orthodox in Massachusetts with the latitudinarian tendencies of their brethren who were gaining control of Harvard—which dissatisfaction manifested itself in inciting the more puritanical ministers of Connecticut to establish a bulwark of the orthodox faith.

This theory, skillfully developed and urged by President Quincy, in his History of Harvard, was so conclusively answered at the time by the late Professor Kingsley (in the American Biblical Repository for 1841-42, second series, vi, 177-195, 384-403, and vii, 175-207), that I need not go over the ground again. It is enough to say that the state of affairs in Connecticut did not correspond to President Quincy's assumptions. The independent desire of the educated clergy of this colony for a nearer and less expensive seat of learning was a motive existing with sufficient strength to account for all that followed. At the same time it may be conceded that testimonies of later date imply that there was also some distrust felt, in this quarter, of the tendencies of Harvard. To refer to these *seriatim,* there is a letter from one of the early trustees, the Rev. Moses Noyes, of Lyme, written in 1723, soon after the declaration of Rector Cutler for Episcopacy, in which he says: "The first movers for a college in Connecticut alleged this as a reason, because the college at Cambridge was under the tutorage of latitudinarians; but how well they have mended, the event sadly manifests." Another letter written on the same occasion by two other trustees, complains "how our fountain, hoped to have been and continued the repository of truth and the reserve of pure and sound principles, doctrine, and education, *in case of a change in our mother Harvard,* shews itself in so little a time so corrupt." And these are the only items of evidence on this side—unless something can be made of the fact that four or five years after Yale College was founded, some of the trustees were opposed to the employment of a Cambridge man as tutor.

But the relation of the movers for a college to the place of their own education made it obviously natural for them to seek there for advice, when giving their project definite form. Accordingly, it is not remarkable if the earliest document in our archives proves to be "A Scheme for a College," furnished from Massachusetts. The manuscript with this title, addressed in the well-known hand of Cotton Mather, and endorsed by the Rev. James Pierpont, "Instructions for a Collegiate School," is undated by its author, but President Clap has marked upon it the date 1700, though in his printed Annals (p. 2), he assigns it to the year 1698. It seems impossible to determine the date more nearly than to say that the paper is anterior to September, 1701, and so may be claimed as the earliest document of the college. To settle the point of date is the less important, since the proposals were not adopted to any extent. The most notable thing in the paper is the phrase "school of the churches," which, caught up and repeated in the inexact form, "School of the Church," in Clap's Annals, has helped to foster an idea that the germ of the

college was a projected theological school. I can only repeat that the paper in which these words occur cannot be shown to have influenced in even the smallest detail the plans of the founders.

The first fixed date in our history shown by documents now existing is August 7, 1701, when a letter is known to have been written, signed by Israel Chauncy, Thomas Buckingham, Abraham Pierson, James Pierpont, and Gurdon Saltonstall, ministers of the gospel in Connecticut, and addressed to two distinguished civilians of Boston, the Honorable Isaac Addington and the Honorable Samuel Sewall, asking for a draft for a charter, if in their opinion it was wise to petition the Colonial Assembly for one. The letter itself is not preserved, but its occasion and date are learned from the favorable reply of Judge Sewall, which we have. From him we learn also that, either in this joint application, or in another letter from Pierpont alone, a few days later, were enclosed instructions more or less minute as to the points to be included in the charter.

The authorities thus consulted were prominent in official position in the Province of Massachusetts, Addington being its Secretary, and Sewall a Judge of the Superior Court; of the two, Sewall alone had been educated at Harvard. Their first reply was, as I have stated, favorable to the project, a fact of the greatest encouragement. For in the existing relations between New and Old England, prudent men were bound to scan carefully every step which might challenge interference. No objections had been made by the home authorities to the resumption of the Connecticut Charter after the downfall of Andros; but it was pertinent to ask whether such an act as the creation of a college corporation might not be a stretch of power which would provoke inquiry.

The original charter of Harvard had indeed been granted by the General Court of Massachusetts, but was understood to have expired with that of the corporation which gave it; and within eight years after the new Provincial Government was set up (1692-1700) no less than five attempts had been made by the General Court to draft a substitute charter for the University acceptable to the Crown; and these attempts having all failed, that college was now dead in law, and destined to be so for six years to come. The experience of Massachusetts was a warning to Connecticut. The only other incorporated seat of learning in America, William and Mary College (1693), had received its charter directly from the sovereigns whose names it bore.

But the founders of a new college would naturally turn also to their Alma Mater for advice; and it is not surprising that the first document extant with its date affixed, is a letter, seemingly addressed

to the Rev. Mr. Pierpont, from Increase Mather, dated Sept. 15, 1701. He was not, to be sure, still President of Harvard College, having been removed from that post the week before by the General Court; but the request for his advice had been made before this event, and aside from the official position he was the acknowledged leader of the New England clergy, and experienced moreover in dealings with the English court. His letter is strikingly in the same line with the proposals previously sent by his son Cotton; it is brief, and is occupied with suggestions of particular provisions for a university, which were not to any extent made prominent in the issue.

Next of our documents in order, come two or three contributions from Connecticut advisers. First is a letter written on the 27th of September, 1701, by Gershom Bulkley, of Wethersfield. Bulkley had received his degree at Cambridge in 1655, and was therefore among the oldest of the band of Connecticut graduates. A former member of the clerical profession, he was also of wide reputation through the colony for sagacity in affairs and critical sharpness. Still he had his notorious crotchets and prejudices, and was known in particular as a disbeliever in the powers of the existing government in Connecticut; so that his opinion was probably of more value as an index of the most that could be said against a charter from the General Court, than as a direct guide to the consulting parties. I give a few sentences from his letter:

"To the Reverend Elders deliberating of a College: Your design is so good that if I might and could, yet I would not wittingly deceive you; and *ergo* you must give me leave to tell you that I have made as much search in the statutes and elsewhere as my present incapacity will allow me, but cannot find that which satisfies me, or (I think) will satisfy you, in answer to your queries."

He goes on to recite the disabilities of non-conformists under the statutes of England, and concludes:

"Now my opinion in everything is so liable to objections that it behoves me to be slow in showing it, yet I am so willing to promote so good a work that I shall adventure to say thus much: viz., that I do not think the General Court will be forward to act in it at present; and I doubt it would but issue in a disappointment to you at last if they should, and possibly in an accusation against themselves at this time. We all know that the King and Parliament are above us, and *ergo* I should think that it will be much better to petition His Majesty to grant a liberty, ratified by Act of Parliament, for the founding of a college. . . 'Tis an old saying, new Lords, new laws, and all the world is mutable; but I think this is the most likely way to prevent a future defeat, if it can be obtained; if not, we are but where we were before, and possibly a little time may enable us better to see what is next best."

This answer was transmitted to Mr. Pierson by Eleazar Kimberly, Secretary of the Colony, who accompanied it with his own reply to questions which had been submitted to him, and gave reassuring testimony as to the powers and safety of a cisatlantic charter.

This brings us to October 1, and about this date must be placed still another letter to Mr. Pierson "at Branford," written by John Eliot, a young lawyer of Windsor, a graduate of Harvard, and a leading member of the General Court. This also was in reply to letters of inquiry of September 17, and is worth quoting in part. He says:

"You first inquire whether our government can erect a Collegiate School which by law can't be overset. Sir, I think such a school may be erected which cannot be overthrown by Law *Regularly Executed,* in some measure to maintain which under a future government a wise and resolute Assembly may be a good means. My reasons are these: To erect such a school is neither repugnant to the laws of England nor an intrenchment on the King's prerogative. No Act or law (according to my sense of the matter) in any of the plantations is deemed to be repugnant to the laws of England, unless it be contrary to an Act of the Parliament of England wherein such Plantation is expressed or evidently intended, and I know no Act of Parliament [which] says such a School may not be erected in the Plantations. Neither do I think it is deemed at home an intrenchment on the Prerogative of the King, though many here are suspicious it is: for manifest occasion has been given to declare it and such like things so, if it were so, not only from the former erecting and incorporating the College at Cambridge . . . but also from the erecting societies by law both in Boston and New York, in their several towns, privileging and enabling them to dispose of land, to sue and be sued, and in many other things to act as incorporated companies: so that unless Prerogative greatens more than of late it has done, or unless hereafter (which is a hazard very necessary to be provided against) our Assemblies are so modeled as to repeal their own act (if they prove so good as to make one), it is hopeful such a school may stand. Here I'll offer one thought, whether one privilege to be granted to the governors of said school should not be to send two to represent the said school in the General Assembly, as the Universities in England have, by which they and so we may have great advantages.

"Your second question is, concerning securing and managing donations. Sir, the best way I can at present think on, is to have them given to a third person or persons in trust to the use of said school, to be managed and disposed by the major part of said eight Elders and said Master for the time being. . . As to the title of the Master of said School, it seems to me to be of no greater consequence than this, that which shows least of grandeur will be least obnoxious. As to your fourth query, I am much at a loss in my own thoughts, yet I'll offer that, not standing on a royal foundation we cannot give authentic or legal degrees. Something instead of them of good use and encouragement amongst ourselves we may, but without a great deal of prudence in that matter, our enemies will take advantage to injure us. To your fifth, the placing government in those nine has a prospect of very happy consequences. To limit to an age may prevent the inconvenience of their being all superannuated, which when numerous may easily and perhaps almost always happen."

It is needless, perhaps, to say, that the writer ludicrously misapprehended in the last sentence the meaning of the proposal to limit the age of the Trustees; it was *young* and not *old* men that the movers wanted to keep out.

On the second Thursday of October, 1701, the General Court met in New Haven for the first time since the union with Connecticut; and with that meeting begins a distinct era in the history of the Collegiate School. Before entering on that period, it is well, perhaps, to review the facts now presented.

The persons whose names appear as "the Elders deliberating of a College" in the documents enumerated, were the pastors of seven towns lying along the Connecticut seaboard, Stonington, New London, Saybrook, Killingworth, Branford, New Haven, and Stratford.

At this date the number of incorporated townships in the Colony was thirty-four, with an aggregate population of not much over 15,000. Almost every town had its settled minister, usually a Cambridge graduate, making with others not in the ministry a total of about fifty college men scattered over the colony. As for lower education, by an act of the previous year grammar schools had been set up at each of the four county seats, Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield; all other towns of seventy families and upwards were required to keep up a public school for the entire year, and the towns of lesser population for half the year. The tax list for the current year made returns of the estates of 3,850 persons in thirty of these towns, amounting in all to £209,058, indicating the scanty resources of the sparsely settled region. The ministers in the smaller places were "passing rich with sixty pounds a year," and £100 was the highest salary known.

In this colony, then, with not more than a quarter the population or the means of the neighboring Province of Massachusetts, a few ministers along the seaboard were moving for a Collegiate School in October, 1701. They had asked the advice in the past two months of some of the best civil and clerical authorities of the New England metropolis, and also of some of the shrewdest civilians in their own government. Their strength lay in New Haven and its neighborhood (the center of the old New Haven Colony), and the fact that the legislative body had resolved in May to assemble for its next session in New Haven, was doubtless connected with the choice of this time for the petition for a charter.

But it is also pertinent to ask what light is thrown on the ante-charter period by tradition. The "Annals or History of Yale College," published in 1766 by President Thomas Clap, contains I believe all that is handed down of this nature, and it is necessary to consider first the weight of President Clap's testimony.

Born and educated in Massachusetts, he had never visited Connecticut until in 1726 he began to preach in Windham, where he remained in the ministry till his removal to the college in 1739. His History, originally compiled in 1747 (not 1744, as his preface erroneously states; see the manuscript in the college archives, and the Corporation Records), was collected, he tells us, "principally from the records and original papers; but several circumstances, tending to set the whole in a clear light, I received from sundry gentlemen, who were contemporary with the facts related; among which were some of the founders of the college, with whom I was personally acquainted in the year 1726."

The meaning is not clearly expressed, but as to the claim of private information from some of the founders, I think we cannot give great weight to it. In 1726, but one of those whose names have now been mentioned as participating in the movements of the summer of 1701, was still living,—Samuel Russel, of Branford, already advanced in years and disabled from active service. Four other early trustees of the college were indeed alive (Mather, Andrew, Woodbridge, Webb), but none of them were neighbors of Mr. Clap, or members of the ministerial Association to which he belonged, or especially connected, so far as appears, with him or with Windham; and it is fair to suppose that his personal acquaintance with them was limited to brief interviews in such common resorts as the semi-annual gatherings of the clergy at Hartford and New Haven. Before he came to the Presidency, the last of these aged survivors was dead, and the details which he would then for the first time have had a special interest to learn, must have been learned at second hand.

He begins with the assertion that "The design of founding a college in the colony of Connecticut, was first concerted by the ministers; among which the Rev. Mr. Pierpont of New Haven, Mr. Andrew of Milford, and Mr. Russel of Branford, were the most forward and active." To the general statement every one must agree; and still more to the special one, so far as its concerns Mr. Pierpont, will any one who has studied the college papers down to the date of his death, yield a hearty acquiescence; it is reasonable, also, to suppose that his most frequent conferences were with his nearest neighbors of his own profession, the pastors of Branford and Milford.

President Clap goes on to say that "They had sundry meetings and consultations, and received several proposals or schemes relating to the constitution and regulation of such a college;" and he pauses to quote some of the details of the paper which probably

suggested to him this statement, namely, the "Proposals" emanating from Cotton Mather, to which I have already referred. These "Proposals," it should be mentioned, favored the agency of a general synod of the churches to effect the erecting of a college; and Clap goes on to intimate that in 1699, in default of a Synod, "ten of the principal ministers in the colony were nominated . . . . by a general consent both of the ministers and people, to stand as trustees":—namely, James Noyes of Stonington, Israel Chauncy of Stratford, Thomas Buckingham of Saybrook, Abraham Pierson of Killingworth, Samuel Mather of Windsor, Samuel Andrew of Milford, Timothy Woodbridge of Hartford, James Pierpont of New Haven, Noadiah Russel of Middletown, and Joseph Webb of Fairfield.

"The ministers so nominated," he continues, "met at New Haven and formed themselves into a body or society, to consist of eleven ministers, including a rector, and agreed to found a college in the colony of Connecticut; which they did at their next meeting at Branford, in the following manner, viz: Each member brought a number of books and presented them to the body; and laying them on the table, said these words, or to this effect: 'I give these books for the founding a College in this Colony.' Then the trustees as a body took possession of them; and appointed the Rev. Mr. Russel of Branford, to be the keeper of the Library, which then consisted of about 40 volumes in folio. Soon after they received sundry other donations both of books and money." . . .

This venerable and beautiful tradition of ten excellent ministers assembling in 1700, in Mr. Russel's south parlor in Branford, each with his bulky proportion of the forty folios, has undoubtedly some basis of truth, but can hardly be accepted in detail.

The chief objection to these details is based on a fair view of the letters and papers which have been recited as recording the movements of the summer of 1701; for the total impression of these is that the project was then in an unorganized and imperfect state, not at all consistent with the theory that as early as 1699 the ten ministers who were finally recognized in the charter had been selected, and that they had held several full meetings in 1700, at one of which they had resolved to increase their number to eleven, and at another had begun the college by a formal and dramatic act of giving books. Indeed, the dramatic version itself, which Clap gives of the incident, is most of all inconsistent with the spirit of the time and of the men concerned.

If we look back to the letter written by John Eliot, we shall recall that he precisely states that in September, 1701, the proposal was to make the Board of Trustees consist of *eight* members with a

Rector; and when we come to examine the draft for the charter we shall again be reminded that the number of eleven was not fixed until the very last moment. I defer until a later point some additional remarks respecting the tradition of giving books for a library.

To take up again the order of events. On Thursday, October 9, the Legislature met in New Haven. The Upper House consisted of the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and ten assistants; while the Lower House numbered fifty-two representatives from twenty-seven of the incorporated towns of the colony. The Governor, Fitz John Winthrop, of New London, though not a college-bred man, had inherited from his more famous father and grandfather an appreciation of all the means of culture; he was, moreover, a parishioner of Gurdon Saltonstall, one of the ministers whom we have seen interested in the new movement. Colonel Robert Treat, of Milford, the Deputy Governor, had educated one of his sons at Harvard, and had given two of his daughters in marriage to two of the proposed trustees of the college—one of them his own pastor, Samuel Andrew, and the other, Samuel Mather, of Windsor. Of the ten assistants one-half were parishioners of ministers whose names appear in the movement; the others being residents of parishes either without a settled minister or with one much younger than any of the movers in this business.

Peter Burr, of Fairfield (and a parishioner therefore of another trustee), was chosen Speaker of the Lower House; he was a Harvard graduate (1690), and had filled the chair of speaker also at the previous session. John Eliot, of Windsor (a parishioner of another trustee), was the only other college graduate in the Assembly. By this recital of the connection between the leading men of the Assembly and the trustees proposed, we see that the selection of names for the charter was admirably adapted to conciliate the prejudices of all who were called to lead in action in the matter.

The ten ministers chosen were also, in general, the ten oldest settled clergymen in the colony; the only others of equal age and standing being Moses Noyes of Lyme, Samuel Street of Wallingford, Samuel Russel of Branford, and Gurdon Saltonstall of New London. It may be noticed that these four were in general representatives of seaboard towns, which had already a preponderance of seven out of ten in the proposed list of trustees, and that in the preliminary movements three of them at least had been actively interested; Noyes also was a brother of one on the list, and Saltonstall was the equal in age of only one, his classmate Webb. Doubtless the omissions in most or all of these cases were a matter of mutual agreement.

With this appropriateness in the choice of men, notice also how the townships which they represented deserved consideration. On the last tax list, that of October, 1700, the order of wealth of the leading towns in the colony was this: Hartford, New Haven, Windsor, Fairfield, Wethersfield, Milford, Stratford, New London, Guilford, Farmington, Middletown, Saybrook, and Stonington. Of these thirteen, Farmington was pastorless; Wethersfield and Guilford were served by young beginners, and New London by Gurdon Saltonstall, whose absence from the list is already noticed. The remaining nine towns are represented in the number of trustees; while for the tenth we go down the scale, past Lyme, Wallingford, Branford, and all the rest, to the twenty-fourth in the list of twenty-nine tax-paying towns, to gain the name of Abraham Pierson, minister of the little village of Killingworth, with its less than fifty rate-payers; surely there must have been something in the *man* to make needful his connection with the project, or the general principle would have led to the selection instead of one of those who stood aside. It is only fair to say that the records which remain of the events of the summer of 1701 would make Pierson the most active of all the persons concerned.

With regard to the ministerial associations of the colony (if any such existed so early), the trustees were as fairly distributed as possible; the association naturally observing the county divisions,[25] and Andrew and Pierpont representing New Haven county; Mather, Russel, and Woodbridge, Hartford; Chauncy and Webb, Fairfield; and Buckingham, Noyes, and Pierson, New London.

We come back to the Assembly and the petition for a charter. The preamble of the instrument as granted refers to this petition, and President Clap professes to quote from it; but it is not known to exist in any separate form. Probably the signatures were those of the ministers and laymen gathered at the meeting of the Assembly, who were always respectable in numbers and dignity. With the petition must have been handed in the outline of a charter, and this brings us to the document itself.

As we have seen, application had been made in August to two Boston counselors for a draft; and their final answer communicating the result of their recommendations was dated on Monday, October 6. The regular post-route was by Providence, Stonington, New London, and Saybrook, counting up 181 miles, and making a three-days' journey. The document (addressed to Mr. Buckingham, of Saybrook) probably, then, reached New Haven at the earliest on Friday, the day after the Assembly had organized. The accompany-

[25] Trumbull's Hist. of Conn., i, 480.

ing letter is interesting chiefly as intimating that the form suggested is in pursuance of *instructions* forwarded by those who asked advice; so that the Connecticut ministers were, back of all forms, the real authors of the instrument.

The college possesses the Boston draft, in Addington's hand, with partial corrections and interlineations by James Pierpont. It is entitled, "An Act for Founding of a *Collegiate School.*" This term had already been used in the correspondence of the summer, and was doubtless one of several names submitted to Addington and Sewall, for they say of it in their letter, "We on purpose gave your academy as low a name as we could, that it might better stand in wind and weather." Before its passage by the Assembly, the title was changed, so that it no longer read "An Act for Founding," but "An Act for Liberty to Erect a Collegiate School;" and this change is followed up by corresponding alterations in the preamble and in the first enacting clause. "Full liberty, privilege, and right" is granted to the ten ministers "to erect, form, direct, order, establish, improve, and encourage" a Collegiate School; and the studied omission and erasure of authority to *found,* seems—so far as that very definite word can testify—a tacit acknowledgment that the school had already been founded by the trustees now incorporated; or was it merely a device to lessen the importance of the Act, and so lessen the chance of interference?

One part of the Boston proposals which was quietly dropped, was that the Westminster Confession of Faith and Dr. Ames' *Medulla Theologiæ* should be diligently studied by all the scholars;—a provision which might, if retained, have excused some of President Quincy's charges of hyper-orthodoxy; but a fortunate wisdom led to its rejection. A strong recommendation that a board of overseers be constituted by the Assembly as a check on the corporation was also rejected, with no unhappy results. Other minor provisions were erased by Pierpont's hand; as, for instance, that the college should be fixed in some specified locality. Fortunate also the wisdom which in this case avoided the premature agitation of a question which might through local jealousies have caused the shipwreck of the whole scheme. Again, the correctors struck out the provision of the Boston draft that the corporation should consist in part of laymen; a provision fatally inconsistent with any theory of the previous existence of an organized corporation of ten ministers already selected and acting, a circumstance which must inevitably have been named when the instructions for the draft was sent on from Connecticut. In a later generation clergymen would not have been exclusively named for trustees, but the

reason for it then, as it seems to me, was not so much to preserve the orthodoxy of the project, or to develop a training-school for the profession, or to exalt the ministerial caste, as it was because there were really so few active educated men then in Connecticut outside of the clergy, so few laymen who would endure labor and sacrifice for the ideal of higher education. For that the enterprise would demand labor and sacrifice, these ministers well knew.

The number to constitute the corporation, left blank in the Boston draft, was now inserted by Pierpont, and the right to fill vacancies with ministers residing in Connecticut and above the age of forty was also added. One only of the trustees named, Mr. Webb, was now under the limit of age thus established.

In the concluding paragraph, a clause, not appearing in the Boston draft, was inserted, empowering the trustees to have and hold any goods *"heretofore already"* granted or bestowed. The phraseology recalls a statement of President Clap that Maj. James Fitch, of Plainfield, one of the Governor's Assistants or Upper House, had made a donation of land and materials to build a college house to the trustees *before the granting of the charter.* I lay no stress on this point, but if President Clap is correct in implying that this donation preceded the passing of the Act, we can fix the day on which the college received its corporate existence.

For Major Fitch's original paper of gift is still on file, and bears date, New Haven, October 16, 1701; while we have also a letter from Judge Sewall in Boston, acknowledging the receipt of letters of the 15th and 16th from Mr. Pierpont, telling him of the successful passage of the charter. The daily proceedings of the Assembly are unfortunately not in existence, and the Act of course bears as its *official* date the 9th of October, the day of the meeting of the Court; but since we know from Judge Sewall that it was granted not *after* the 16th, and since on Clap's authority for Major Fitch's gift, it was not granted *before* the 16th, we are brought to that day for our anniversary; and it may not be a mere accident that the trustees choose October 16, 1702, for holding the first annual Commencement of the institution; nay, it is all the more likely that the day was chosen as being the anniversary of the day of incorporation, since in 1702 the 16th of October fell on Friday, an inconvenient part of the week for ministers to meet in those days of slow travel. The day to which they were accustomed at Harvard for Commencement was the first Wednesday of July.[26]

Behold then the Collegiate School provided with a charter, and

[26] See N. E. Geneal. and Hist. Register, xxxiii, 423; and Sewall's Diary, *passim.*

with a promise from Major Fitch of 637 acres of land in a remote corner of the colony, and of glass and nails to build a college house.

The story of the founding is not, however, complete without some account of the organization of the trustees in their first recorded meeting. It is, by the way, another evidence that this was the beginning of their existence as a body, that at this point begin their formal records. If they had held earlier meetings, the systematic method with which they now begin to keep account of their proceedings would certainly have operated to produce some similar entry of those occasions.

Seven of the Board met at Saybrook, on Tuesday, November 11, a month after the charter was given, and remained in session until Friday. The three absentees were Noyes of Stonington, Mather of Windsor (who never attended any subsequent meeting), and Woodbridge of Hartford. Letters of excuse from the first two are preserved; Mr. Woodbridge was in Boston on a visit.

The trustees thus assembled formally resolved under the charter that they "do order and appoint that there shall [be] and hereby is erected and formed a Collegiate School, wherein shall be taught the liberal arts and languages." They then adopted some general rules for the transaction of business and the government of the school; providing, for instance, that the rector and tutors should remain in office only during good behavior (a rule which came into play in Rector Cutler's time); that no student should be degraded or expelled except by a quorum of the trustees acting with the rector, and even then providing for a right of appeal to a two-thirds vote in a full meeting of the trustees (a rule which perhaps Mr. Webb, of Fairfield, proposed, who was once himself, when a sophomore at Harvard, rather summarily expelled for "abusing of the freshmen," and only got back after much tribulation); and again that the rector with the help of such neighboring ministers as he could obtain, should examine candidates, "and finding them duly prepared and expert in Latin and Greek authors, both poetic and oratorical, as also ready in making good Latin, shall grant them admission."

They voted to fix the college at Saybrook, "upon mature consideration that so all parts of the Connecticut colony, with the neighboring colony, may be best accommodated." "The neighboring colony" was of course Massachusetts, for the western part of which there was easy access to Saybrook by the river; but in point of fact this expectation of students from that province was hardly justified. It may be interesting to note that of the fifty-five who graduated from the school while at Saybrook, four were from

Long Island, three from western Massachusetts, two from south-eastern Massachusetts, one from Philadelphia, and the remaining forty-five from Connecticut. It was not till 1719 that New York city furnished a graduate, nor until 1722 that Rhode Island was represented on the roll. Of the forty-five Connecticut graduates, from 1703 to 1716, Saybrook furnished nine, the most from any one place, a preëminence which it resigned in haste as soon as the school left its bounds. In general, two-thirds of the Connecticut boys within these dates were from the seacoast towns, and one-third from the inland; in fair proportion, perhaps, to the population of the two sections. Doubtless New Haven and Hartford were also discussed as sites for the college; but Saybrook was preferred as a compromise, and as comparatively easy of access both from the seaboard towns and up-river settlements.

As the next business of the meeting, says the record, after much debate and consideration had, the trustees present unanimously agreed and concluded to request Mr. Chauncy, under the title and character of rector, to take the care of the school and remove to Saybrook. He was the oldest trustee in attendance, and the vote may have been in a measure complimentary. He declined, however, on the ground of age and other circumstances. The next oldest was Mr. Buckingham, who alone of all the number had not received a college degree, and this circumstance would make his appointment inexpedient. Mr. Pierson, the next in age, was then elected, who took the subject into consideration, agreeing meantime to "take charge of such students as the country shall see fit to send him." It may be noticed that among the college papers are preserved some memoranda set down by Mr. Pierpont, apparently before leaving home, of things to be done at this meeting. The business he laid out was all attended to, constituting the major part of all that was done, showing that he was depended on to take the lead; and on his programme one item is, "to provide if Mr. Pierson refuse." There is no reference to Mr. Chauncy, and the entry implies that the most influential of the trustees was expecting from the beginning that Mr. Pierson would be the rector.

After this the trustees filled the existing vacancy in their own number by the election of Samuel Russel, of Branford, whom we have already seen as one of the prime movers in the project.

The Board then prescribed further rules for the rector and students. He was to instruct in theoretical divinity, and in no other system than what is laid down by the Board. The Assembly's Catechism in Latin, and Ames's Theological Theses were to be recited weekly and expounded by the rector. The Scriptures were

to be read daily at morning and evening prayers, by the students, as at Harvard, and the rector to expound them; and on Sunday either he shall expound practical divinity, or shall cause the undergraduate students to repeat sermons. Graduate students were to pay ten shillings annual tuition, while the undergraduates paid thirty shillings. The degree of Bachelor of Arts was to be given after four years' residence, and that of Master of Arts three years later; but, for the present, public commencements were prohibited, and the time for each degree might be shortened one year.

The rules of Harvard College were to be used in all cases not provided for. A treasurer was appointed, Mr. Nathaniel Lynde, of Saybrook, otherwise notable as a special benefactor of the school, and a vote passed allowing the undergraduates at the Rector's discretion to use "the Collegiate library." The mention of a library advises us that by this time a collection of books was in hand, and the question arises, when were they contributed. In this connection let me read from the letter which James Noyes, of Stonington, sent as his excuse for not attending this meeting. It is directed to Mr. Pierpont and dated Oct. 28: "Yours came to hand, subscribed by the other Reverend gentlemen. Unto them and you I give my service with hearty thanks for your kindness when with you. In answer to your letter, I return that I am aged, crazy, my will is more than my strength. We rode early and late coming home, and I have not been well since. . . . I know no call I have to come, or any trust put in me as to that matter, further than voluntarily for myself I am engaged; to me it is a journey over two rivers, and I am at the extreme part of the colony. . . . Probably my brother will be with you. I do hereby desire and impower him to give out of my books at his house my full proportion, and in nothing would I be behindhand in so public a good and shall take all opportunities to promote it, but hope Mr. Saltonstall, a young, active man, will excite others of this county; my remoteness disadvantageth me to converse with them. I humbly pray the God of heaven to direct and spirit you in the matter (that are entrusted and have a full call thereto) and also to succeed the motion with his smile thereon, for his glory and the public interest; and also I believe what you do therein will be accepted of God and men and will at last have a full reward, in which I would put in for a share according to my poor capacity . . . I intend at night to write more fully to my dear brother at Lyme, with order about books."

I quote this letter, interesting on other accounts, to call attention to the proposition about giving books at this meeting in Saybrook. It does not read as if this venerable writer had made a

journey the year before to Branford, and deposited there his proportion of the cart load of folios; yet if Rector Clap is to be followed, all the trustees were then present with their gifts.

I may be asked if I forget a list made out by President Stiles[27] in 1784 of the books then in the College Library which he assumed to have been given by the founders in 1700. But I judge that if that list proves anything, it proves too much. The tradition gives us forty volumes from ten founders; Dr. Stiles enumerates over fifty volumes, and attributes these to three donors, Messrs. Chauncy, Pierson, and Pierpont. Moreover, the nineteen volumes assigned to Pierson are all found in a longer list in the college archives, of books offered to the school from his library after his death by one of his sons; so that these at least were not in possession of the college until years after 1700; and the same can be proved respecting some at least of the other parts of Dr. Stiles' list.

But in transferring partially at least the gift of books, from its mythical location at Branford in 1700, to the historical environments of the meeting at Saybrook in November, 1701, I may be accused, not merely of despising and degrading a delightful tradition, but also of dishonoring the testimony of President Clap, by whom alone the story is transmitted.

Let us look again at his account. His history was first drawn up in 1747, and the college possesses that first draft in the author's own hand. In this draft, the beginning of the movement for a college is placed in 1701, and the first organization of the trustees is found in the Saybrook meeting after the charter was granted; and not until he reaches in his story the year 1702 does the author state that "several of the trustees and others gave a number of books out of their own libraries to begin a library for the college." Also, seven years after composing this account, President Clap published (in 1754) a pamphlet on the Religious Constitution of Colleges, in which in tracing the history of Yale and giving an account of the charter, he passes to the meeting at Saybrook, at which, he says, the founders "make a formal foundation of the college by an express declaration and giving a number of books for a library." Up to this date, then, President Clap believed that the gift of books was subsequent to the charter; and in this opinion we might rest with him, rather than adopt the version which he published later.

If I give my own explanation of his change of statement, it is this:—in 1763 (a date between the two dates at which he printed his different versions of this affair), he made before the General

[27] Printed in the University Quarterly, ii, 245.

Assembly a successful defence of the right of the college to be exempt from visitatorial power claimed for the Assembly as the founders, and in this defence (as reported by himself in his Annals, p. 71) he made and elaborated the point that *books,* money, and land had been acquired by the trustees before they were incorporated, and that this made them the founders. He needed for this occasion all the arguments he could lawfully adduce; and I doubt not that it was at this time he satisfied himself (not by inquiry at first hand, for all those who could have given direct testimony were long since dead), that there had been some gathering of books before the charter was granted. It is not impugning the truth of this general proposition to reject the details of the embellished story, to point out that 1700 is an impossibly early date for the event, and that there is no likelihood that all the ten clergymen were ever present at or took part in such a contribution. As for the actual date of the gift of books, we may perhaps infer from the superscription of the letter of John Eliot already quoted (p. 64), that there was a meeting of some of the "Elders deliberating of a college" at Branford, about the 1st of October, 1701, a week before the charter was applied for: for Eliot addresses his reply to Mr. Pierson "at Branford,"—doubtless in accordance with information that Pierson was to be there at that particular time. Very possibly he met then and there with some of his friends to consider the answers returned to the queries sent out, and to take final order for the next week's work; and very possibly to make themselves (independently of the General Assembly) the actual founders of the college, the persons then met agreed to make or did make donations as a nucleus of college property, and it may be with reference to such an agreement that Mr. Noyes sent on his message about books in November. All this is merely conjecture, but it may supply the basis of the story told by President Clap; but we are justified by the documents on hand in denying entirely that the gift of books was so formal as he represents it, and especially that it could have been earlier than the few days preceding the grant of a charter.

Among the interesting questions which my subject suggests, one is, how far did the founders mean to make the school a Theological Seminary?

The charter claims to be grounded on a petition expressing the desires of "several well-disposed and public-spirited persons [out] of their sincere regard to and zeal for the upholding and propagating of the Christian Protestant religion by a succession of learned and orthodox men"—the last phrase, I think, fairly includ-

ing religious laymen as well as clergy; and the school is described as a place "wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who through the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for public employment, *both* in church and civil state."

This phraseology, though it appears in the Boston draft of the charter, may be confidently traced back, through the instructions which Mr. Pierpont furnished for this draft, to the terms in which his predecessor, John Davenport, was wont to inculcate his projects of higher education for New Haven colony. To take but one of a group of instances, compare it with the phrase used in setting up the free school in New Haven in 1645, "for the better training of youth in this town, that through God's blessing they may be fitted for public service hereafter either in church or commonwealth." So that the words as well as the spirit of Davenport were echoed in the charter of the college which a manifest destiny has restored to the city which he founded.

After the charter, at the first meeting of the trustees, they declare, as we have seen, the erection of "a Collegiate School, wherein shall be taught the liberal arts and languages." Apparently, they were willing to leave the development of the course of study to the rector's discretion, and were only careful, when descending to particular injunctions, to specify that certain theological studies must not be neglected.

Unquestionably, their design was to erect a school which should be to the next generation what Harvard had been to them. By the charter of that college, ability to translate the Bible from the original tongues into Latin, and to chop logic were the requisites for the first degree. Possibly a distrust of Harvard tendencies may have inspired a more decidedly orthodox tincture in the elements of instruction proposed for the new school; but it would not wipe out nor pervert the general likeness in plan.

Drawing their ideal, through the Harvard channel, from the great English universities, which had lost their special relation to the ministry with the revival of letters, these founders could not be ignorant of the wider sphere of learning which had opened to the older institutions, and it is a poor judgment of their breadth and foresight which refuses the natural meaning of the only formal declarations of their purpose which they left on record. Turn again to those two phrases, deliberately framed to express their object—"a school wherein shall be taught the liberal arts and languages;" "a school wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who through the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for public employment, both in church and civil state." Thank

God for that word *both!* In any case, perhaps, they builded better than they knew; but let us not deny them a knowledge and a hope proportioned to their age and opportunities.

As to the facts, our trustees must have been aware, in general, that the ministerial graduates of Harvard, from its founding to their time (sixty years), were but fifty-two per cent. of the whole number. For the like period in Yale College after its founding, the ministers numbered forty-seven per cent.; or, to take the most promising period, while the school tarried at Saybrook, seventy-five per cent. of the graduates entered the ministry; but of this large proportion, only a single individual entered it without some substantial subsequent training. This striking exception was Jacob Heminway (class of 1704), the first student under Rector Pierson, and the only one for at least a half-year, and perhaps from this state of things having exceptional advantages; so that, when after graduating he came home to East Haven, he commended himself to the farmers of the neighborhood as competent to instruct them, and actually began to conduct worship there only two months after leaving his Alma Mater, the happy result of which was that after a trial of his growing gifts for almost seven years, the East Haven church was organized of which he was made the first pastor.

I find that on the average these Saybrook graduates did not begin to preach until nearly three years after taking their first degree—spending the interval either at the college, as candidates for the degree of Master, or with some minister in his parish. In the whole number (forty-two), I find but half a dozen cases (besides Heminway's), where less than two years' preparation seems to have intervened between graduation and license to preach, while the average date of ordination in all the known instances among these Saybrook pupils was six and one-half years from graduation. This was characteristic of that and the earlier time; if the chance of appearing early in the pulpit was granted, there was with it a commendable deliberation in proceeding to the further step of formal induction into the ministry. Nor were these delays due to extreme youth in the candidates: the average age at graduation, as well as the age of the greatest number, of those in this period who became ministers was between twenty and twenty-one years.

These statistics may help to show that, while the college at first unquestionably made theology one prominent study (languages, logic, mathematics, and physics being included in the curriculum), yet it was not fairly described (as by President Clap) as "a society of ministers for training up persons for the work of the ministry," but rather a school for the higher training of all who would use it.

in general learning, religious learning making a large part of the whole. Then, when the college had graduated a Bachelor of Arts, the additional two or three years' course which led those who remained to the Master's degree was designed for the study of theology.

Not a word of testimony comes from the founders which does not agree with this idea. Rector Pierson, the official exponent of their scheme, chose as his single contribution to the efficiency of the college curriculum the preparation of a text-book in Physics,—not the work which an enthusiastic theological professor would deem most necessary or most natural. As for the later testimony, there is little or none till President Clap's time. The preachers of the annual Election sermons sometimes refer to the college as "The School of the Prophets," but it sounds like a mere touch of professional rhetoric.

President Clap, however, when arguing the right of the college to set up a church and constitute a separate religious society, saw the need of, and made powerful use of, the proposition that "the great design of founding this school was to educate ministers in our own way." He reiterates the statement in many forms in his various publications, and it is replied to by some of his many opponents. After all the test of fact is safest, and when I find that under his own administration, in the decade in which he made the assertion I have just quoted, only twenty-eight per cent. became "ministers in our own way," the question is, must we conclude that so far as seventy-two per cent. of the students were concerned, the college course was a failure and a fraud, or shall we admit that the college had other equally great designs which have never lost their power.

In drawing these conclusions, I would not obscure the fact that the founders undoubtedly looked to the college as a source whence the colony should obtain a permanent succession of learned ministers; but I wish to emphasize also the other half of the truth, that they did not plan for this at any sacrifice of the essential and understood character of a university after the English type.

I add to this hasty sketch a brief notice of the founders, whose names are given in the charter in the order of college age.

The senior trustee, James Noyes, son of an English rector, who came to Massachusetts and settled in the ministry in Newbury, was himself a graduate of Harvard in 1659, beginning to preach in Stonington five years after. In that pastoral charge he remained for upwards of fifty years, dying in 1719, at the age of eighty. He was, then, over sixty when the charter was granted, and pleaded

age and feebleness as excuses for not taking active part in what ensued. Later, his youngest son having graduated here, and after eminent success in the tutorship having passed from that station to the pulpit of the First Church in this city, the father took a deeper interest in the struggles of the college, as well as in New Haven, and was a staunch advocate of the wisdom of removal here.

Next in age was Israel Chauncy, youngest son of the famous President of Harvard College, and two years later than Noyes in his graduation. He came to Stratford early in 1665, assisting the minister, Mr. Blakeman, and after his death was settled the next year as his successor. He was the hero of what was called the leather mitten ordination, from the apocryphal story, that at his induction into the ministry laymen joined in the imposition of hands, for one of the last times in Connecticut history, and that Elder Brinsmade forgetting to remove his leather mitten gave a nickname to the ceremony which brought his share of it into disrepute. So long as he lived, Mr. Chauncy was faithful in the discharge of his duties as trustee, but he died of a fever in the second spring after the charter was obtained.

Thomas Buckingham, whose name stands next, was a native of Milford. He did not go to college, but spent a successful ministry of over forty years in Saybrook, where he died in 1709, the year after the meeting there of that synod of Connecticut churches, of which James Noyes and he were the Moderators, and which framed the famous Saybrook platform. He, as well as Mr. Chauncy, had no sons young enough for education here; but a grandson soon represented the name of Buckingham on the triennial, and the college is proud to count among other descendants of the Saybrook pastor one of her most noble departed benefactors, and two of her most honored living officers.[28]

Abraham Pierson, the fourth in seniority, though probably not born in Connecticut, was bred here, his father being the first minister of Branford. After his graduation at Harvard in 1668 he may have met Buckingham at Milford, where he is said to have studied theology. After a ministry of upwards of twenty years in New Jersey, he spent the last thirteen years of his life in the service of the church in Killingworth. The college records down to his death in 1707 show that he deserves grateful remembrance for very devoted and judicious service, in a day when little honor and emolument compensated for the labors of the presidency. And when one of his successors went over to Episcopacy, one letter-writer recalled Pierson's virtues by the sentence, "Our school

[28] William A. Buckingham, Leonard Bacon, Thomas A. Thacher.

gloried and flourished under its first rector, a pattern of piety, a man of modest behavior, of solid learning and sound principles, free from the least Arminian or Episcopal taint.[29]

Next to Pierson stands the name of Samuel Mather, pastor of the church in Windsor, and nephew of President Increase Mather. Though he lived until 1728, he was early laid aside from active labors, and probably for this reason took no part in college matters. The letter written by an amanuensis to the meeting of 1701 is the only trace of his existence so far as we are concerned; through his sons a line of descendants has graduated at the college.

Samuel Andrew, to whom we come next, was a native of Cambridge, graduating in 1675 and aferward a resident Fellow and entrusted with a large share of the government of Harvard for between five and six years. His ministerial life of over half a century was all spent in Milford. From the beginning he was the warm friend of the college, and on Pierson's death succeeded to the Rectorship as a *pro tempore* substitute and so served for a dozen years, including the eventful period of the removal to New Haven, which he led in securing. His son-in-law, Mr. Cutler, was then through his influence appointed rector, but the circumstances under which he speedily left the position were such as to cause Mr. Andrew keen mortification, as well as to destroy his predominance in the corporation. He survived, however, all his early associates, and at death was commemorated with this epitaph, "a singular ornament and blessing in every capacity and relation, of exemplary holiness and unwearied labors, modest, courteous, and benevolent, never fond of *this* world, earnestly pursuing and recommending a *better,* greatly esteemed in life and lamented at death." His descendants of the name have been graduated at the college in every generation since.

Timothy Woodbridge was an Englishman by birth, a fellow townsman of Mr. Noyes and a classmate of Mr. Andrew. His ministry over the First Church in Hartford extended from 1685 till his death in 1732. Not being one of the earliest promoters of the college, he became later the leader of the minority in favor of removal to Hartford, but when fairly beaten accepted the situation, and took a dignified and useful part in the administration of affairs at New Haven. The humble conditions of life in a Connecticut ministry then are shown by the fact that so far as posterity has the means of judging he was the most voluminous author of early trustees, his published works amounting to three sermons. But there was no printing press in Connecticut till 1709.

[29] Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, xiv, 297.

James Pierpont, the eighth trustee in age, was born in Roxbury, Mass., graduated in 1681, and settled over the First Church of this city from 1685 till his death in 1714. The papers of the college during his life bear his impress more than that of any other man; and I am convinced that he was looked to to determine and guide the policy of the institution, as no one but the original and responsible head of the movement would have been. I am convinced also that the settlement of the college here after his death was but the fulfilment of one of his plans which events then brought to perfection. And it is a fitting coincidence that twice in the history of the college since, the President's chair has been filled with distinguished honor by descendants of James Pierpont.

Noadiah Russel, next in order, was the only native of New Haven on the list, the only native of Connecticut besides Buckingham. Though born here, he was prepared for college in Massachusetts, and after graduating in the class with Mr. Pierpont and under the instruction of Mr. Andrew, became a tutor and student of theology at Cambridge. Later he was settled in Middletown, and after a pastorate of twenty-five years, died there in 1713. So far as the college records show, he was never absent from a single meeting of the trustees; and besides this testimony of fidelity to his trust, I have only to quote the quaint record which President Stiles gives,[30] on the authority of one who remembered him:—"A little man in stature, pious and holy, always visited all his flock round twice a year, and giving them good and holy counsel; and," adds the writer, "ministers savored more of heavenly conversation then than they do now." In his case alone, of all the founders, direct descendants of the name in one line have been represented in every generation since, among the graduates of the college.

The youngest trustee was Joseph Webb, a native of Boston, and pastor at Fairfield for almost forty years. The fact that he and Mr. Chauncy married sisters reminds us that the bonds of family connection between these early trustees were remarkably numerous. The same relationship existed between Mather and Andrew; Pierpont was the nephew of Pierson by one marriage, and the stepson of Buckingham by another; Noyes and Woodbridge were cousins; the children of Pierson and Woodbridge intermarried; while in their college days they must almost all have been thrown into groups of more or less intimate acquaintance; to say nothing of their proper ministerial fellowship.

To the faith, the foresight, and the prayers of these undistinguished country ministers, all who honor Yale College owe a debt

[30] Diary, ii, 472.

of lasting gratitude. As for those who carry on the college which they were inspired to begin, the best evidence of regard for their spirit and their work still lies in a constant elaboration of their grand design to make a school "wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who through the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for public employment both in church and civil state."

GOVERNOR ELIHU YALE.

[From the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Vol. III, 1882. Read December, 1878.]

On January 4, 1640, in the second year after the settlement of New Haven, the General Court agreed to make a division of certain lands in the town, according to the proportion of estate which every planter had given in (*i. e.*, his personal property here, independent of whatever estate he had left behind him in the old country) and the number of heads in his family, excluding servants. The list made out in consequence stands in our Colony Records,[31] and is of course of the first importance in regard to our earliest settlers. At the head is the name of "Mr. Theophilus Eaton," with a family of six persons, and an estate of £3000 (thrice as large as that of any other planter, and almost ten per cent. of the whole amount); and next after him and his brother and mother, comes the name of his step-son, David Yale, unmarried, with an estate of £300.

While Governor Eaton was a London merchant, some fifteen years before, he had married, as his second wife, Anne, the widow of David Yale, of the ancient family of Yale, of Denbighshire, in North Wales. Cotton Mather, in his Life of Eaton,[32] which appears to have been written from family memoranda, describes this wife of the Governor as "a Prudent and Pious Widow, the Daughter of the Bishop of Chester;" and though a modern critic might conclude from the records of the New Haven Church that neither her prudence nor her piety were conspicuous in later days, yet there is a strong probability, from the known intimacy of the Mather and Eaton households, that the author of the Magnalia had good grounds for his statement of the widow Yale's parentage. Professor Kingsley's inference, however, that her father was Thomas Morton, a somewhat famous Bishop of Chester (1616-19) and later of Lichfield and of Durham, was certainly wrong; it can be proved that he lived and ied unmarried; and it is now known[33] that she was a daughter of Bishop Morton's predecessor, George

[31] Hoadly's edition, volume i, p. 91.
[32] Magnalia, Book 2, chapter ix.
[33] Earwaker's East Cheshire, vol. II, p. 33.

Lloyd, a Welshman, who occupied the see from 1604 to 1615, when he died at the age of fifty-five.

By her first marriage she had two sons surviving, David and Thomas Yale, and a daughter Ann, who married Governor Hopkins of Connecticut.

When their step-father joined with John Davenport in leading a colony into the Western wilderness, the two Yales, then probably not far from twenty years of age, embarked with the company, and so we find David, undoubtedly the elder, on the first grand list of New Haven. Thomas Yale's name is also on the list, with a smaller estate.

David is not traceable here later than March, 1641; and he seems soon after to have disposed of his landed estate to his brother, and before April, 1644, to have settled in Boston as a merchant. The Boston registry shows in May and August, 1644, the birth and death of Elizabeth, daughter of David and Ursula Yale; and in 1645 and 1652 the births of their sons David and Theophilus; but the record is merely an early transcript of a missing original, and beside these names we seek in vain for the birth, perhaps on April 5, 1649, of the son Elihu, who is the subject of this sketch. It will appear later that this was undoubtedly his parentage, and we must accept the apparent imperfection of the official record as an unfortunate fact, but not as a contrary argument. It is of course possible that he was born during some temporary absence of his parents from Boston, or that the copyist has omitted an entry which was in the original record.

But though New England born, Elihu Yale was an early emigrant, so that Cotton Mather in writing to him many years after could address him with the reminder that he had "left his native country in such an early infancy as to be incapable of remembering anything in it." (Quincy's Hist. of Harvard Univ., i, 524.)

His father, as the records sufficiently indicate, was an active and thriving merchant, but not in cordial sympathy with the civil and religious constitution of the colony. Accordingly, in May, 1646, he was induced to join with six other more or less uneasy individuals in signing a famous petition to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay for the redress of certain alleged grievances, specifically remonstrating at the non-admission to the churches here of those who acknowledged the established religion of England, and the non-participation of the inhabitants generally (outside of church members) in the management of civil affairs as voters and office-bearers. The authorities of Massachusetts were by no means ready for such a subversion of the principles of Church and State as by

them constituted, and the revolutionary petition—especially offensive for its distinct threat of appeal to the parliamentary government in England—was answered, not merely by a carefully-drawn counter-argument, but by the more personal argument of heavy fines.

David Yale paid £30 (corresponding at least to $600 now) into the public treasury for his appearance as the cat's paw of older plotters in this impudent attempt to stir up a revolution in the Puritan colony. The result made his position somewhat uncomfortable, apparently; it may be that his return to England, a few years after, was a consequence and not an unwelcome one. Nor is it likely that we infer too much in saying that the father's unpleasant experience in Massachusetts Bay led the son in his turn to bestow his gifts on the feeble Collegiate School of Connecticut rather than on the older college at Cambridge, under shadow of which he was born.

On July 5, 1651, David Yale executed a power of attorney to two agents to dispose of his Boston estate (purchased of Edward Bendall in 1645), on the present site of Pemberton Square, which shows that his departure from the colony was then determined: he probably left at once for England, although the record of the birth of another son in Boston in the following January seems to show that the removal of his family was deferred until 1652, when the son Elihu was three years old. The Boston residence was not sold until September, 1653. The father probably settled at once in London, and except a chance notice of his being in New England on a visit in the summer of 1659 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th series, vii, 501), the next trace of him is in connection with putting his son Elihu to school.

A little earlier than this, at the time of the execution of King Charles, the master of the well-known Merchant Tailors' School in London, supported by the rich company of that name, was William Dugard, a graduate of Cambridge, a good scholar and withal an excellent printer, who combined the business of his trade with his other duties. He was the chief printer of the first editions of the *Eikon Basilike,* attributed to the late king, and in 1650 provoked the Commonwealth authorities still further by printing an English edition of the *Defence of the King* by Salmasius; for this his mastership was taken away, and he was thrown into prison. Brought to terms by this, and restored to his office, he also printed Milton's answer to Salmasius; but in 1661 was again dismissed from his place, though not for political reasons, and started a private school in Coleman street, in the city, some of the registers of admission to which are still preserved; and among the entries,

under date of September 1, 1662, is the name of "Elihu Yale, 2d son of Mr. David Yale, merchant, born in New England, 1649." (Notes & Queries, 2d ser., ix, 101.) The date of birth may be questioned, but there can be no doubt that this was the boy for whom Yale College is named, who now in the autumn of 1662, in his 14th or 15th year, joined Master Dugard's school, in Coleman street, the same short and narrow street in which stood the parish church of St. Stephen's, memorable to us as the church of which John Davenport was vicar, and the spiritual parent of the first church of New Haven.

I may stop to sum up here, once for all, the conflicting evidence as to the date of Elihu Yale's birth. The school record, as we see, gives 1649, and the same year is given in a brief inscription on the portrait painted from life and now owned by the college; while April 5, 1648, is given in early quotations of the legend on his monument, which is now obliterated. I am inclined to think that the two independent concurring testimonies for 1649 are of more weight than the one for 1648, though April 5 may still have a good claim for the month and day of the year.

But the training of Elihu Yale by Milton's friend, Master Dugard, was of the briefest; for death ended Dugard's teaching three months after Yale's admission.

We hear no more of his school experience; but we know the setting of public events, in which he grew from boy to man, and that no other equally brief period in London history has exceeded this in interest and excitement. He was old enough to have seen Cromwell riding in London streets with his guards; to have joined in the silent concourse at his funeral, and in the shouts of joy at the Restoration. He lived through the agonies of the great plague; he saw the devastation of the great fire. If it pleased him, he may have seen Milton walking in the Park, and Dryden lounging at Will's coffee-house; he may have heard Jeremy Taylor and Richard Baxter preaching in London pulpits, and George Fox and Wm. Penn exhorting in Quaker meeting. He saw the last of an older order of things, like nothing since; and he grew up with the beginnings of what we may fairly call Modern England.

In July, 1665, while Pepys was noting, in his wonderful diary, the bill of mortality in London with above 1700 dying weekly of the plague, "David Yale, of the Parish of Cripplegate, merchant, finding himself," as the record runs, "subject to distempers and sickness," made his last will and testament, which was proved by his only surviving child, Elihu, thirty-four years later. In this he provides for his wife Ursula and for his four sons, David, Elihu,

Theophilus, and Thomas. The eldest son is to have the family estate in Denbighshire (apparently near the town of Llangollen), and other houses and lands lately purchased near Wrexham in the same county are to be sold for the benefit of the younger sons, with the expectation of furnishing them each with a legacy of £300, over and above what would come from the division of his personal estate. The eldest son is also to have the reversion of the lands in Derbyshire which David Yale held in trust for the support of his "distressed sister, Mrs. Ann Hopkins."

With this document our knowledge of the father ceases;[34] for though he calls himself in the looser sense of that term a "merchant," his name is not entered in the earliest London Directory, the "Collection of Names of the Merchants (*i. e.*, Bankers) living in and about the City of London," in 1677; and now the scene shifts from England to the East.

At the end of the sixteenth century a charter had been granted by Queen Elizabeth to a Company of London merchants trading with the East Indies, by which they secured a monopoly of that trade, so far as not possessed by friendly European powers. The Portuguese had already been established in the Peninsula for a hundred years, and simultaneously with the English the Dutch took a hand in the lucrative traffic.

The first English trading house was at Surat, high up on the Western Coast; but this was not enough; the Eastern side had superior attractions from its offering certain goods, especially the beautifully dyed or painted calicoes, much in demand not only in Europe, but still more in Farther India and the islands to the eastward. But the English attempts to establish a permanent station on the Coromandel Coast were unsuccessful until in 1639, the same year in which civil government was set up on the soil of New Haven, a narrow strip of land, six miles long and a mile in breadth, was purchased of the native ruler of the middle Eastern coast. The shore was sandy and harborless; but the close proximity of the flourishing Portuguese city of St. Thomas augured well for the security of the new settlement, and the further circumstance that the territory included a small island, about as large as our College Square, fixed the bargain. The island was at once fortified, and as none but Europeans were allowed to live on it, this became known as White town, or from the name given to the fortifications, Fort St. George; while a Black Town quickly sprang up on the

[34] Palmer's History of the Wrexham Parish Church shows that he died there in January, 1690, in his 76th year. His wife, Ursula, died in February, 1698, in her 74th year.

adjacent shore; and both settlements together were known as Madras.

In its earliest years the population of the Fort was very scanty, perhaps twenty or thirty servants of the Company, and a small garrison; but before long the neighboring Portuguese city was broken up by a native assault, and many of the refugees were received in Fort St. George, and built themselves dwellings there; and with the growth of the Company's trade came an increasing official population.

At the head of affairs was the agent of the East India Company, styled the Governor of the settlement and afterwards the President, who was also the commander of the garrison; he was lodged in a stately mansion in the center of the island, and kept an open table at which all of the Company's servants were expected to report themselves every day at dinner. Next to him were a book-keeper (or treasurer), a warehouse keeper (or custom house inspector), and a collector of taxes; these with some trusted merchants made up the Council, who decided with the Governor all matters of business concerning the settlement and its trade, except so far as orders from home took precedence. Under these were the subordinates, all of whom were lodged and fed at the Company's expense.

Salaries were notoriously and ludicrously small,—from the Governor's at £100 a year down to the apprentices' at £5; it was expected that officers and men would indulge in private ventures of their own in Eastern ports, while nominally promoting the Company's trade. Then too the opportunities for levying extra and illegal taxes on the natives who sold goods to the Company, were so evident that they may be said to have been expected and connived at; while the want of the restraints of family life, and the close neighborhood of the Black Town with its temptations to the grosser forms of dissipation made the Fort a poor school of morals for any new comer, however correct his principles and his life before leaving England.

It was about 1670, when just past his majority, that Elihu Yale emigrated to Madras to make his fortune as a merchant. The details of his rise there are all wanting; but he probably began in the lowest grade of the service, as an apprentice, rising from that to the successive ranks of writer, factor, and merchant.[35] We fix the date of his beginning by his casual mention in a document in 1691, of twenty years' diligent service in India; but the first notice of him in print is in describing the solemnity of pro-

[35] Later information shows that he began his service in 1672, as a writer.

claiming king James II. at Madras in August, 1685. There was a grand procession of all the chief merchants, English and foreign, great numbers of the inhabitants of the Gentoo town, with arms and elephants and kettle drums and native music, besides twelve English trumpets; and in the chief place of honor was a troop commanded and led by the President, and the rear brought up by Mr. Elihu Yale.[86] He had then reached, as appears by the record of the succeeding month, the rank of second member of council, and less than two years later had become the senior or first member,—only subordinate, that is, to the Governor or President himself.

At this time the Sultan of Golconda, the petty Mohammedan ruler in whose domains the English fort was situate, was attacked by the great Indian emperor reigning at Delhi, Aurung-Zeb, and there was need in the complications which might arise of firmer qualities in the Presidency at Madras than the present incumbent, Mr. Gifford, had shown.

Regular promotion was the principle of the service, and accordingly the directors in London, acting by their Governor, Sir Josiah Child, the eminent writer on finance, sent out orders which were received at Madras on the 23d of July, 1687, retiring President Gifford, and appointing Elihu Yale his successor.

Two months later the great Mogul succeeded in conquering the fortress of Golconda, and became master in consequence of the Northern Carnatic, the province including Madras; and so it was one of the earliest public duties of our American-born President Yale to proclaim on the part of Englishmen the formal ceremonies of submission to the last and one of the greatest of the great monarchs of India.

The Mogul proved to be dissatisfied with the small rental (about $2000 a year) paid for the occupancy of the Madras territory, and attempted to extort additional sums; and threats were heard of his intending to besiege the fort and destroy all the English in his dominions. The defences were quietly strengthened in consequence, and at the same time conciliatory messages were sent to the Emperor, for which last the President was roundly rebuked by his superiors at home.

In 1689 the accession of William of Orange to the English throne brought a new complication. The rule of William meant war with France, and that meant for Madras a collision between her commerce and the French settlement at Pondicherry, eighty miles down the coast. But the same event brought the Dutch, who were nearer

[86] J. Talboys Wheeler's Madras in the Olden Time, i, 140.

neighbors on the north, into closer alliance, and the result of the only naval engagement of importance which President Yale superintended was favorable to the allies.

Meantime the city throve and grew rich. Within the narrow limits of the island, garrisoned by seven hundred soldiers, were crowded together about one hundred and thirty houses, containing perhaps 300 English and many more Portuguese; while within the bounds of the whole territory was a population reckoned at three hundred thousand souls.

Over this multitude the President acting with the advice of his council was absolute; and even by himself could wield very great power. The old traveler, Dr. Fryer, who visited Madras about 1675, describes with gusto the Governor's magnificence; his personal guard of three or four hundred blacks; how he never goes abroad without fifes, drums, trumpets, and a flag, being carried in a gorgeous palankeen, and shaded by an ostrich-feather fan.

But the records show that this splendor had its penalties. Year in and year out, a succession of mighty quarrels raged between the Governor and his subordinates in the council, which were relieved perhaps but not quenched by towering accusations and recriminations.

The prime cause of the attacks on the President appears to have been certain frauds in trading operations alleged to have been committed by his brother, Thomas Yale, whose side the President espoused. There were further charges against the President directly, of arbitrary government, of neglect of duty, and of using the Company's funds for private speculation.

In an answer to such charges, in 1691, he states that he has made honestly during twenty years of diligent service and trading in India, above 500,000 pagodas, that is some $900,000,—which in comparison with the ordinary fortunes of the time would be represented, I suppose, to our ideas in this century by three or four millions. And as salaries were so insignificant, practically the whole of this large amount must have been derived from the profits of private trade. References in letters from the Company seem to show that they regarded his success in accumulating as something extraordinary and not altogether creditable; and yet, that he was reckoned a public benefactor must be concluded from such a sentence as this, in a letter of February, 1691, from the Court of Directors: "We desire our President, Mr. Yale, whom God hath blessed with so great an estate in our service, to set on foot *another* generous charitable work before he leaves India, that is, the building of a church for the Protestant black people and Portuguese and the slaves who serve them."

The squabbles in Council were brought, however, to the ears of the Directors, and accompanied with other charges, especially of losing the trade with Sumatra.

A vote of censure was the final result, and a determination was reached about the beginning of 1692 to remove Yale from office. It was not, however, until November 23d, in that year, that the vessel arrived which bore the commission of his successor, and ended his reign of five years and four months.

The settlement of outstanding accounts between him and the Company dragged through two or three years, and if one may believe his representations to the home authorities, he was grievously plundered by arbitrary seizure of his goods as well as by legal decisions against him, and was kept a prisoner at the Fort when longing to return to England, with design, as he says, "to enforce him into despair, or otherwise to bring on him some distemper that may hasten his death, which not long since by poison was near affected." (Wheeler's Madras, i, 289.)

There are ample replies to these charges from the new President and Council, detailing their proceedings in conformity to law, but claiming that Yale had bribed the judges where he could, and that his personal liberty had never been abridged. As to his suggestion of poison, they say:

"They that know him will doubtless conclude with us, either this bold reflection is no more than the accustomary strains of wicked policy, or a salvo for his own credit against the common reports of the unusual deaths of several of the Council when he was President; . . . if they had been living to declare, themselves, what others have since their death declared as from them, some of Mr. Yale's instruments must have been prosecuted, and he would have been put hard to it to clear his own reputation."

As to poisoning him:

"There was never a report that ever we heard, of anything that would give him the least color for such a suggestion since the year 1691, when there was a story told all about the town of a rogue that tempted Mrs. Nicks' slave wench to poison her mistress; and because Mrs. Nicks then lived with Mr. Yale at his garden-house (which she and Mrs. Pavia, with their children, have and do frequent to the scandal of Christianity among the heathens), therefore he takes occasion to suppose the design was against himself and to insinuate that the now President and Council had a hand in it."

Probably the truth was not all on either side of the controversy; but after this we hear no more of these charges.

It may be worth while to notice that Yale's successor as President was Nathaniel Higginson, another American, and a native of Guilford in the New Haven Colony. He was a grandson of the Rev.

Francis Higginson, first minister at Salem, whose widow after his early death came to New Haven, probably because she was a kinswoman of Governor Eaton. This may help to explain how her grandson, after graduating at Harvard College and going to England to seek his fortune, followed Governor Eaton's grandson by marriage, Elihu Yale (who was Nathaniel Higginson's senior by three or four years), to Madras, and by his help was started in a prosperous career there. Truth obliges me to add that Higginson has left a cleaner record both of official and private life in the Indies than his fellow-countryman and quasi-kinsman.

There is one other unpleasant story which appeared in print in 1727, in Capt. Alexander Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, and again in 1764, in the second edition of John Harris's Collection of Voyages (i, 917), to this effect:—In comment on the mildness of the penalties usually inflicted in the East India Government, it is mentioned that President Yale hanged one of his grooms for riding a favorite horse of his without leave for two or three days' journey into the country to take the air; but that Yale was tried on his return to England and heavily fined for the misdemeanor. Later writers enlarge the account by stating that his return to England was in order to meet his trial for this murder.

The whole implication in the story as first told is that it was an incident of his presidency, but as this does not appear among the various charges against him at the time and as full seven years elapsed before his return, and as no records of the trial can be discovered in England, I confess that I feel some doubt about the evidence. Not that it disagrees with his character; for the conclusion of any who study the original documents must be that our hero, if hero at all, was like the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream: part of fine gold, and part of iron and clay. His surroundings must be his most effective defence for a record of arrogance, cruelty, sensuality, and greed.[37]

In 1699, however, at the age of fifty-one, he sailed for England. He found his father dead, and one of his first acts was to prove, as sole survivor of the family, the will made many years before.

Of the property inherited in Wales he appears to have chosen as his own residence, not the older family mansion, but the house and lands mentioned by his father in 1665 as lately purchased in

[37] Further details of Yale's career in India are found in William Hedges' Diary (Hakluyt Society), vol. ii, p. 292, in John Anderson's English Intercourse with Siam, and in the Diary and Consultation Book of the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, edited by A. T. Pringle. See, also, an article by Henry D. Baker (Yale Coll. 1896) in the Yale Alumni Weekly, vol. xxiii (1913).

Wrexham. The house, Plasgronow, about two miles from Wrexham church, a plain two-story stone cottage, of no architectural beauty, I found still standing in 1873, and looking good for another century; but I hear that it was taken down about three years later.

But this was only a country-house, and he soon built in London a stately residence, which is also I believe still standing, in Queen's Square, Great Ormond street, a little to the east of the present British Museum. The Square was a fashionable locality, laid out and built up in the reign of Queen Anne, from whom came the name. Though now buried in the heart of London, it was then, and for at least fifty years later, quite on the outskirts of the city, and the northern side was left open for the sake of the beautiful landscape formed by the hills of Highgate and Hampstead, with the intervening fields.

That his was a palatial establishment and filled with works of art and curiosities of great value, appears from the fact that he received as insurance from the Sun Fire Office in January, 1719, on account of a recent fire in this house, the enormous sum of £4,500.

In connection with his return from India the story has been handed down that the first auction ever held in Great Britain was an auction of goods brought home with him and sold in 1700; but though this may have made an epoch in the history of auctions, it is yet true that the system in its essentials can be traced further back:—see, for instance, Pepys' Diary for 1660 (Nov. 6), for a notice of the sale by inch of candle, a method of auction early in vogue both on the Continent and in England.[38]

It was in May, 1711, that Jeremiah Dummer, then the agent at London for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, as later also for the Colony of Connecticut, first mentions in a letter to the Rev. James Pierpont of New Haven, the principal founder of the Collegiate School at Saybrook, that "Mr. Yale, formerly Governor of Fort St. George, who has got a prodigious estate," having no son is sending to Connecticut for a relation to make him his heir, that is, I suppose, to secure the descent of the landed property in Wales to one of the Yale name. "He told me lately," adds Dummer, "that he intended to bestow a charity upon some college in Oxford, under certain restrictions which he mentioned. But *I* think he should rather do it to your college, seeing he is a New Englander and I think a Connecticut man. If, therefore, when his kinsman comes over, you will write him a proper letter on that subject, I will take care to press it home." Pierpont was not the man to neglect such an opportunity, and no doubt when young David Yale, a boy

[38] See, also, Notes and Queries, 5th series, xii, 95.

of fifteen, son of the oldest cousin of the Governor, was sent over, next year, he carried "a proper letter," describing the achievements and aspirations of the college at Saybrook.

About the same time Dummer was collecting from all his friends a gift of books for the college library, and when these (upwards of seven hundred volumes in all) were received in 1714, between thirty and forty volumes (the most from any single donor except the collector himself) were marked as given by Governor Yale. The selection, which was presumably his own, is an uncommonly broad one; there are good representatives of theology, history, chronology, polite literature, classics, metaphysics, natural science, medicine, political science, commerce, agriculture, military science, and architecture,—providing, we may say, some foundation for every one of the present departments in the university which was then so completely in embryo.

President Clap (Annals, p. 23) has stated that another gift of three hundred volumes followed this three years later; but the contemporary records, which appear to be full on this subject, have no trace of it, and there is reason to think that the statement is a wrong inference of Clap's from a vote passed in 1717 with reference to other gifts by Dummer, or he may refer to the gift of 1718.

In October, 1716, a majority of the trustees of the Collegiate School voted to remove it from Saybrook to New Haven, and in the same month instruction was actually begun in temporary quarters here; and a year later the first college house was raised,—that stupendous architectural monstrosity which stood till the Revolution in front of the present South College. We may form a good idea of its appearance by imagining a wooden building of the length of Durfee College, and of three-quarters its height, but of only one-half the width, and painted moreover a beautiful cerulean color.

The trustees were utterly without resources to finish so elegant a building; but they had probably begun it with a more or less distinct hope of help from abroad, and in their extremity one good friend of the college, Cotton Mather, of Boston, was appealed to, whose powers of persuasion proved equal to the need. On January 14, 1718, he wrote to Governor Yale a remarkable letter, in which he praises skilfully the Governor's well-known charity, and solicits his favor towards the college at New Haven; with a happy vein of prophecy, linking the two words that had never been joined before, as they now stand linked to all the future. "Sir," said he, "though you have felicities in your family, which, I pray, God continue and multiply, yet certainly, if what is forming at New Haven

might wear the name of YALE COLLEGE, it would be better than a name of sons and daughters. And your munificence might easily obtain for you a commemoration and perpetuation of your valuable name, which would indeed be much better than an Egyptian pyramid."

It is the fashion to sneer at Cotton Mather for his lively imagination and his overweening credulity; but no inspired vision could have given him firmer ground for this faith that was in him. The morsel, the merest fragment of his great possessions, which the rich man, thoughtlessly perhaps, grudgingly perhaps, cast on the waters, in response to this appeal, has not been lost or scattered; it has preserved his name from extinction, long after his latest descendant has moldered to dust, and given him a lasting fame which a better man might have envied. Dummer, meantime, was "endeavoring to get a present from Mr. Yale, for the finishing the college;" and his interviews, seconded by such letters as Mather's, bore welcome fruit.

On June 11th, there were shipped from Governor Yale in a vessel bound for Boston three bales or trunks of valuable goods, to be sold for the benefit of the college; and with these the full-length portrait of King George I. by Kneller which still graces the college collection, an escutcheon representing the royal arms, which was destroyed in the Revolution, and a large box of books,—the entire value of the gift being estimated at £800. An invoice of a part of the goods is still preserved, with its enumeration of "25 pieces of garlix (whatever that may be), 18 pieces of calico, 17 pieces of stuff (that is, worsted goods), 12 pieces Spanish poplin, 5 pieces plain muslin, 3 pieces camlet, and 2 of black and white silk crape;"—these being set down as worth £130 at prime cost, but bringing in Boston three times that amount. Besides there were other parcels sold unbroken at the same two hundred per cent. advance, making the entire proceeds of the gift in hard money, £562 12s. Three years elapsed before the goods were all sold and paid for, but it is probable the money was all swallowed up in meeting the bills for the erection of the new college, which is said to have cost nearly £1000. It was a crisis in the history of the institution; for though it is hard to imagine the turn of events if the trustees had not received this help, it seems extremely doubtful if they could have finished their new building at once; and every delay would have strengthened immensely the faction opposed to the removal to New Haven, which was now conducting a rival college at Wethersfield, and which might very probably but for this timely contribution have succeeded in endowing the rival and choking out the New Haven original.

It is saying little to note that this was by far the largest sum which the college during the first twenty years of its struggling existence had received from any private person. Nor should we judge from our modern notions of large endowments that Governor Yale earned his immortality too cheaply. It was really for those times a munificent gift; and the giver remained for full a century the largest individual donor to the college funds, until the receipt of $10,000 in 1837 from the estate of Dr. Alfred E. Perkins for the library.

The news of this great gift reached New Haven a few days before the Commencement celebration. The story of that splendid and long remembered Commencement is familiar to all who have glanced at the annals of the college. On that bright September morning, "we were favored and honored," writes the contemporary chronicler, Tutor Johnson, "with the presence of his Honor Governor Saltonstall and his lady, and the Honorable Colonel Tailer of Boston, and the Lieutenant Governor and whole Superior Court," also a great number of reverend ministers and a great concourse of spectators. The trustees, meeting in the new building "first most solemnly" in the sonorous Latin periods still spread upon their records, "named our college by the name of Yale College . . . upon which the Hon. Col. Tailer," who had been sent over by Queen Anne as Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts Bay, and who in anticipation of these festivities had made the toilsome journey from Boston, "represented Governor Yale in a speech, expressing his great satisfaction."

At the public exercises in the church, there was a pleasant rivalry in Latin compliments to the absent Mæcenas from the salutatory orator of the graduating class (a son of James Pierpont), from one of the Trustees (a grandson of John Davenport), and most elegantly of all from that superb old Puritan, Governor Saltonstall himself.

And before they separated the Trustees composed a profuse and painful letter of thanks, at which, as Dummer reports in due season, the old gentleman was more than a little pleased, "saving that he expressed at first some kind of concern whether it was well in him, being a churchman, to promote an Academy of Dissenters. But when he had discoursed the point freely, he appeared convinced that the business of good men is to spread religion and learning among mankind, without being too fondly attached to particular tenets about which the world never was, nor ever will be, agreed. Besides," adds Dummer, "if the discipline of the Church of England be most agreeable to Scripture and primitive practice, there's

no better way to make men sensible of it than by giving them good learning."

It is surely alike to the honor of the givers and of the recipients that the great benefactors of this College in its first century, Elihu Yale and George Berkeley, were both churchmen (though not perhaps equally sound ones), as the greatest benefactor of Harvard in the same century was Thomas Hollis, a Baptist.

It does not appear that any additions were made to these gifts until February, 1721, when Dummer writes to Governor Saltonstall that Mr. Yale has shipped another £100 worth of goods for the College. "This however is but half what he promised me a month ago, when he assured me he would remit you £200 sterling per annum during his life, and make a settled annual provision to take place after his death. But old gentlemen are forgetful." The College records do not show clearly whether the shipment here referred to was actually received; but I see no reason to doubt that it was so.

Yale was now in his seventy-second year, and age perhaps had made more inroads than Dummer realized. Five months later, The Weekly Journal and British Gazetteer, in its issue of Saturday, July 8th, announced that "Elihu Yale, Esq., commonly called Governor Yale, a gentleman eminently known for his extensive charity, lies at the point of death at his house in Queen's Square, Great Ormond Street," and on the same day his death in fact took place. The last consolations of religion if any such were offered, must have been the duty of the vicar of the parish church, St. Andrew's, Holborn, a person no less noted than Dr. Henry Sacheverell, the tory partisan whose conviction by the House of Peers had caused so great an excitement a few years before.

A week passed by, and in the Daily Post of Tuesday, the 18th, it was noticed that on "yesterday morning the corpse of Elihu Yale, Esq., was carried out of town in order to be interred at Wrexham, in Wales."

The funeral procession had a journey before it of near two hundred miles, and it was not till Saturday, the 22d, that the much traveled hero found his last rest.

Those who have visited the busy modern town of Wrexham (and a visit is easy, as it lies within a dozen miles by rail from Chester) will have seen its beautiful fifteenth-century church, one of the seven wonders of Wales, and conspicuous in the churchyard, in a line with the Northern wall of the magnificent West tower, the plain altar-tomb sacred to the memory of Elihu Yale. The inscriptions upon it have all been recut or replaced in modern times, and

may not perhaps be relied on for accuracy; but no notice of the man would be complete without a citation of the famous poetical legend on the north panel of his tomb, imitated from the epitaph on Duns Scotus at Cologne:—

> Born in America, in Europe bred,
> In Afric travel'd and in Asia wed,
> Where long he lived and thrived; in London dead.
> Much good, some ill, he did, so hope's all's even,
> And that his soul thro' mercy's gone to heaven.
> You that survive and read this tale take care
> For this most certain exit to prepare,
> Where blest in peace the actions of the just
> Smell sweet and blossom in the silent dust.

The progress of our story has omitted to touch on the second line of this rhythmical biography. "In Afric travel'd" is most probably only a poetic extension of the knowledge of that continent which Indian voyagers usually gained by the visits of their ships at the Cape of Good Hope or at the Western islands. "In "Asia wed" commemorates his marriage at Madras on November 4, 1680, to Catherine, widow of Mr. Joseph Hynmers, a former member of the Council.[40] The Rev. Samuel Peters, celebrated for his untrustworthy History of Connecticut, visited while an exile in England in 1789 the town of Wrexham, and represents in a letter of that date that he was told that Mrs. Yale was a copper-colored native of India, and in consequence not received in society by her Welsh neighbors.[41] It is not unlikely that she was of Portuguese descent and perhaps a Jewess, as such unions in Madras were frequent; but with the natives there was certainly no intermarriage. And Peters had an unfortunate weakness, which this whole letter bears out, for reporting what was not true.

By this marriage there were three daughters: the eldest, Katherine, married Dudley North, of the family which later produced the famous Lord North and the present Earls of Guilford; the second, Anne, married a younger son of the first Duke of Devonshire; and the youngest, Ursula, died unmarried a few days after her father, at the family seat of her sister, Lady Cavendish, in Bucks. In her will she disposes of personal property amounting to about £20,000.

The line of direct descendants of Elihu Yale terminated in 1829 with the death of his great grandson, Dudley Long North, who

[40] She is said to have died on February 8, 1728; and a son David to have also died in London on March 2, 1728.

[41] Historical Magazine, second series, iii, 155.

had reached some distinction as a Member of Parliament and a friend and companion of Dr. Johnson, and therefore embalmed in the pages of Boswell. He was the donor to the College in 1789[42] of the picture which has made Governor Yale's countenance familiar to succeeding generations. This portrait was executed in June, 1717, as appears by an inscription on the canvas, by Enoch Seeman, a German painter then settled in London, of considerable repute in the line of portraits.[43]

Besides the three daughters of this marriage with Mrs. Hynmers, there was an only son who died an infant in the first year of his father's presidency; and the visitor to the Madras of to-day, though he finds in Fort St. George (now given up to soldiers' barracks) no other trace of the White Town which Governor Yale knew, can still read on the granite slab in the tall monument set up to his boy's memory the "Hic jacet David, filius honorabilis Elihu Yale, Presidentis et Gubernatoris Castelli Sancti Georgii et Civitatis Madrassæ."

Another Latin epitaph at the Cape of Good Hope records the death there in 1712 of Charles Yale, also called only son of the former Governor of Madras, and also of his mother, who for love of her only child had come from India to be buried beside him.[44] The mother so touchingly commemorated is the Mrs. Pavia, a Portuguese Jewess, who was mentioned in letters already quoted as one of the two women who were living in scandalous relations with the Governor at his garden-house, in Madras.

Yale's death was so far sudden that his last will was not in form to be successfully probated; we hear of it by Dummer's letters, as partly finished, but unsigned; and as it contained a legacy (Rector Clap says of £500) to the College, Dummer used all endeavor to secure its recognition, but the sons-in-law resisted, and carried their point.

An advertisement in the Evening Post of March after his death[45] announces an auction as about to take place at Governor Yale's late dwelling-house in Queen's Square, and it is curious as illustrating his tastes and mode of living. The brief enumeration includes a collection of jewels (particularly a celebrated diamond ring, formerly belonging to Mary, Queen of Scots); diamond and pearl necklaces; gold repeating and silver watches; household plate,

[42] Yale Literary Magazine, xxiii, 172.

[43] Another portrait, by James Worsdale, was given to the University in 1910; and a third is owned by the Elizabethan Club of Yale College.

[44] Pennant's Tour in Wales, i, 401.

[45] Yale Literary Magazine, xxiii, 164.

with several dozens of silver plates; a large collection of valuable pictures; a great variety of India cabinets and divers sorts of household goods; brass cannons; curious fire-arms; mathematical instruments; several parcels of fine silks, linens, and muslin; and many valuable curiosities in gold, silver, and agate. The abstract reads as though our modern bric-à-brac hunter had only revived an ancient passion.

I am obliged to pass over without due explanation a reference to his well-known charity, which may have been noticed in the newspaper account of his illness. The benefactions to this College can hardly have been thought of in this statement; it must be that he enjoyed a reputation for liberality to interests at home. I have however, only noticed one instance of this, in his offer in 1718 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel of 100 guineas for buying or building them suitable quarters. We know too that the church of St. George the Martyr was erected in 1706 at the south-west angle of Queen's Square by private subscriptions from the residents in the neighborhood; and it is tradition that the name by which it was known was given in honor of one of the founders who had been Governor of Fort St. George.

The parish church at Wrexham also shared in his bounty; it possesses still a large picture, said to be a Rubens, brought by him with another by Titian from Rome as gifts.

In this notice of Governor Yale I may seem to have dismissed too summarily what was long an accepted tradition, that he was the son of Thomas, not David, and was born in New Haven, upon or very near the grounds of the future College. But this was never anything more than a guess, started by uncritical writers near the end of the last century, and believed in since from a persuasion that it made a pleasing coincidence. The entry of admission to Master Dugard's school, and the will of David Yale, are sufficient proofs of the parentage as I have explained it. And these are fully corroborated by the indirect testimony of Mather and Clap, and by the reference in the Madras records to the Governor's brother Thomas as a trader between China and India. If Elihu had been of the New Haven parentage he would still, to be sure, have had a brother Thomas, but equally sure is the fact that our Thomas was a simple farmer on the Wallingford plains, and not a trader in the China seas.

But though we cannot claim him as "town-born," there is no Englishman, there is no American, who has done more to make New Haven "a name and a praise through all the earth," than the timely giver who made the fluttering, precarious existence of Yale College a blessed certainty.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES

IN THE

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

[From the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Febr., 1880.]

New England civilization received its first efficient impulse from the arrival of the Massachusetts Company, bearing their charter, in June, 1630; and in any attempt to trace a connection between liberal education on the other side of the water and the progress of New England, this date must mark the real beginning.

For, though half a dozen university men (Brewster, Blaxston, Higginson, Skelton, Ralph Smith, and Bright) had reached New England before 1630, not one of them continued within the limits of the Massachusetts Colony long enough to bear a hand in, or even to witness, the beginning there of the new era, in connection with the establishment of the public school, the printing-press, and the college, during the fruitful period from 1636 to 1647. But before this period had expired, the number of university men who had immigrated to New England had mounted up to at least ninety; there may perhaps have been half a dozen more, at present not identified;—enough, it is probable, with the few who came in the next generation, to make a total of a hundred names.

Of this body almost three-fourths were from the University of Cambridge,—known as a special stronghold of Puritanism from the middle of the sixteenth century onward. At Cambridge had been educated the Protestant sectaries who had led the revolt against the notion of a national church,—Robert Browne, Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood, John Penry, Francis Johnson, Richard Clifton, John Smith, John Robinson; all in fact of the more noted Separatists who had a university training, except Henry Jacob. And when we recall that the same *Alma Mater* nurtured such other strong men of the Puritan party as Burton, Cartwright, Whitaker, Ames, Sibbes, Preston, Davenant, Lightfoot, John and Thomas Goodwin, Cromwell, Fairfax, and Milton, we get some idea of the historical environment which helped to mould the educated leaders of New England.

In the archives of the university the matriculation registers, which received at the opening of each month the record of those who had entered at any of the separate colleges during the month preceding, are still extant (with the exception of an unfortunate gap from June, 1589, to June, 1602), and of ready access, in the Registrary's office, in the Pitt Press Building, with the accompanying list of degrees granted at the ending of the academic course. The matriculation book contains merely the names of the students, roughly classified by rank, and the colleges which they have entered; the admission books of the particular colleges occasionally supplying additional items of information, such as age and parents' names, with varying degrees of fulness.

The statute interval between matriculation and graduation was four years of three terms each, though, by a lax construction, it was common to reduce this period by one term, or even by more; and, judging from the known ages in the case of the New England immigrants, the average seventeenth-century age, at admission, was not far from seventeen, and that at graduation about twenty.

On these official lists the first name belonging to our history is that of William Brewster, who was matriculated on December 3, 1580, at the oldest of the college foundations, St. Peter's or Peterhouse. We had already the statement in Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation" that Elder Brewster "spent some small time at Cambridge," and, as was rightly inferred, without graduating; but hitherto the first known date in his life has been the reference (also in Bradford) to his presence with Secretary Davison, when the cautionary towns in the Low Countries were given up to England in 1585.

After Elder Brewster, no New England name appears until that of John Phillips, of Catharine Hall, who graduated in 1596, and was a temporary resident in Massachusetts from 1638 to 1641. By the time of his graduation, at least three others of our future immigrants (Robert Peck, Ralph Partridge, and Nathaniel Ward) were domiciled in Cambridge; and for the next forty years there was never a smaller number—sometimes upward of twenty—in residence together. The roll, fullest about 1620, closes with Nathaniel Norcross, also of Catharine Hall, who graduated in 1637, and was in Salem a year or two later.

About seventy New Englanders are thus traced to Cambridge University; and more than twenty of them were connected with Emanuel College, notorious almost from its foundation, in 1584, as a Puritan seed-plot. Though outstripped in numbers by Trinity and St. John's (then, as now, the largest of the colleges in the

university), Emanuel stood easily in the next rank, as to size, and equal to any in scholarship; nor were the least brilliant names in its teaching body during this period those of John Cotton and Thomas Hooker.

Next, but far below this, in popularity with the New England fathers, were Trinity, where eight or nine of them are enrolled (including in this number the illustrious name of John Winthrop, the elder, who was a student here from December, 1602, till some time in 1604),[46] and Magdalen and St. John's, each with seven. Sidney Sussex, sometimes classed with Emanuel as a special nursery of Puritans, chiefly because it was Oliver Cromwell's college, has but three of our names on its lists, of whom only the Massachusetts agitator, John Wheelwright, was a contemporary of the Protector. The other great name of Cambridge in the Puritan period is that of John Milton, resident in Christ's College from 1625 to 1632. None of the transatlantic heroes seem to have been inmates of Christ's at the same time with her greatest son; but undergraduate fellowship easily overleaps college boundaries; and it is pleasant to recall that Thomas Shepard and John Norton, Roger Williams and Abraham Pierson, John Harvard and Henry Dunster, were a part of the busy throng that paced the same streets and drank of the same influences, side by side with John Milton and Jeremy Taylor. In like manner, it may help to fill out our conception of the gentle Elder Brewster to remember that he was an undergraduate at Peterhouse with John Penry, the Puritan martyr. So Peter Bulkley, the pastor of Concord, may, as Fellow of St. John's, have shared in the training of the great Earl of Strafford; and the pure fame of President Chauncy may gain an added light as we picture him in daily intercourse, year in and year out, with the saintly George Herbert, while both of them were Fellows of Trinity.

Passing now to Oxford, the question is a natural one, why we find but about one-third as many New England names as at Cambridge. The argument from locality will not explain so great a difference, though doubtless the eastern counties furnished the larger number of the Cambridge men on our list, as they furnished, in general, a greater proportion of the total emigration than any other section. As to this last, the best available data make the metropolis naturally the largest feeder to New England, and Kent, in the extreme south-east, probably the next largest; after which, with a distribution of numbers fairly proportioned to their several areas, come closely the group of strictly eastern counties, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; but Wiltshire, Devonshire, Somerset, Hants,

[46] See "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," vol. i, pp. 54-59.

CAMBRIDGE.	1580.	1585.	1590.	1595.	1600.	1605.	1610.	1615.	1620.	1625.	1630.	1635.	1640.
CATHARINE HALL.				John Phillips, B.A. Robert Peck, B.A.					R. Denton, B.A.	John Knowles, Fellow. (H. Knollys.)	Nathl Norcross, B.A.		
CHRIST'S.						John Wilson, B.A. & M.A. Ezekiel Rogers, B.A.	John Allin, B.A. Ralph Smith, B.A.						
CLARE HALL.					John Phillips, M.A. & B.D.		Samuel Skelton, B.A. & M.A.			Ralph Wheelock, B.A. & M.A.			
CORPUS.					Ezekiel Rogers, B.A.				Jonathan Burr, B.A. & M.A. William Wetherell, B.A. & M.A.		Robert Child, B.A. & M.A.		
EMANUEL.					Nathaniel Ward, B.A. & M.A.	Daniel Maude, B.A. & M.A. Thomas Hooker, B.A. & M.A. & Fellow.	John Cotton, B.D. & Fellow. Samuel Whiting, B.A. & M.A. Thomas James, B.A. & M.A.	William Blaxston, B.A. & M.A. Zechariah Symmes, B.A. & M.A. Simon Bradstreet, B.A. & M.A. William Walton, B.A. & M.A. Nathaniel Rogers, B.A. & M.A.	(Edmund Brown.) (J. Oxenbridge.) (G. Firmin.) William Leverich, B.A. & M.A. (R. Saltonstall.) (John Sherman.) John Ward, B.A. & M.A. T. Waterhouse, B.A. Thomas Shepard, B.A. & M.A. John Harvard, B.A. & M.A. Samuel Stone, B.A. & M.A. D. Denison, B.A.				
GONVILLE AND CAIUS.							George Phillips, B.A. & M.A.			John Miller, B.A. Robert Fordham, B.A. & M.A. Thomas Allyn, B.A. & M.A.			
JESUS.						Francis Higginson, B.A.			John Eliot, B.A.				
MAGDALEN.					Robert Peck, M.A.				John Raynor, B.A. Henry Dunster, B.A. & M.A. Samuel Eaton, B.A. & M.A. John Knowles, B.A. & M.A. Peter Hobart, B.A. & M.A.		Richard Gibson, B.A.		
PEMBROKE.									C. Blackwood, B.A. Roger Williams, B.A.				
PETERHOUSE.	(Wm Brewster.)								John Norton, B.A. & M.A.				
QUEEN'S.						(T. Hooker.) W. Knight, B.A. (?)			(G. Fenwick.)				
ST. JOHN'S.						(F. Higginson.) F. Higginson, M.A. Peter Bulkley, B.A., M.A., & Fellow. (E. Hult.) Timo Dalton, B.A.				John Fiske, B.A.	Thomas Thornton, Preacher & Fellow. (?) Nicholas Baker, B.A. & M.A. Thomas Carter, B.A. & M.A.		
SIDNEY SUSSEX.								John Wheelwright, B.A & M.A. George Moxon, B.A. George Burdett, B.A.					
TRINITY.					R. Partridge, B.A.	John Cotton, B.A. & M.A. P. Saxton, M.A. (J. Winthrop.)	Charles Chauncy, B.A., M.A., B.D., and Fellow. Thomas Welde, B.A. & M.A. Hugh Peters, B.A. & M.A.		Thomas Thornton, B A. & M.A. (?)		A. Pierson, B.A.		
TRINITY HALL.									Thomas Larkham, B.A. & M.A.				

OXFORD.	1585.	1595.	1600.	1605.	1610.	1615.	1620.	1625.	1630.	1635.	1640.	1645.	1650.	1655.
ALL SOULS.								M. Mathews, B.A.						
BRASENOSE.						(J. Davenport.)	(R. Mather.) W. Tompson, B.A.							
CHRIST CHURCH.						A. Blakeman, B.A.								
EXETER.		John Maverick, B.A. & M.A.												
LINCOLN.									(E. Corlet.)					
MAGDALEN.						(T. Parker.)	(S. Newman.)			(H. Green.)				
MAGDALEN HALL.							H. Pelham, B.A.	J. Davenport, B.D. (H. Vane.) J. Oxenbridge, B.A. & M.A.					Sam! Lee, M.A. & Proctor. (J. Allen.)	
NEW.					(H. Whitfield.)									James Allen, B.A., M.A., & Fellow.
NEW INN HALL.								F. Bright, B.A.		R. Blinman, B.A.				
PEMBROKE (or BROADGATES HALL).								Nicholas Street, B.A.						
QUEEN'S.						(J. Avery.)								
ST. EDMUND'S HALL.							Joseph Avery, B.A. & M.A.							
ST. JOHN'S.	S. Bachiler, B.A.													
ST. MARY HALL.						John Warham, B.A. & M.A. Jos. Hull, B.A.			T. Cobbet, M.A.					
TRINITY.							Wm. Hooke, B.A. & M.A.		T. Cobbet, B.A.					
WADHAM.													C. Morton, B.A. S. Lee, Fellow.	
UNCERTAIN.			(E. Norris.)											

Dorset, and Surrey, in the south, Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, in the southern midland, and Lancashire, in the north-west, fall not far below the previous group in the quota contributed to the peopling of New England.

If we look further for reasons why Oxford drew to itself so much less of the element we are seeking than did Cambridge, I venture to suggest that one fact should be remembered, that by far the most conspicuous figure in the former university from 1604 to 1621 was William Laud, Fellow and afterward President of St. John's College, and that the influences typified by his name made Oxford an unattractive place to men whose natural development led them in later years to these Colonies.

It may well be significant that not a single student from St. John's during that period shared in the settling of New England; significant, also, perhaps, that in the scant roll of less than thirty Oxford men who came over, must be counted no less than five (Norris, Davenport, Parker, Mather, Vane) who left the university before completing the formalities of matriculation and subscription,—of whom were the two most notable of all the number, John Davenport and Richard Mather, though Davenport afterward returned for a degree upon examination. There was something incompatible between the spirit which fostered Laud and the spirit which founded New England.

For access to a carefully verified and alphabetically arranged index to the original matriculation and subscription registers at Oxford, I was indebted a few months ago, while in London, to the generous kindness of Colonel Joseph L. Chester, LL.D. The entries are more full than the corresponding records at Cambridge, containing as they do the age of the matriculant, and, to a great extent, the residence and rank in life of the father. A conveniently arranged copy of the roll of degrees conferred by Oxford before the beginning of the printed catalogue (1659), can be consulted in the Bodleian Library, among the voluminous manuscript collections of Anthony Wood.

The New England names begin with that of Stephen Bachiler, of St. John's College, B.A. 1586, a temporary resident clergyman, next followed by the matriculation at Exeter College, in 1595, of John Maverick, the son of a Devonshire clergyman, and himself one of the pastors of the congregation which paused for a while at our Dorchester, on its way to Windsor in Connecticut; and the list is closed, in 1652, with the graduation of James Allen, whose service as a minister of the First Church in Boston lasted into the 18th century. Over this stretch of nearly sixty years the few who

came to New England were scattered by twos and threes, and for brief periods, at no time being more than five at once, and with no representatives, as there were at Cambridge, among the body of instructors (except at the very end), to create a community of sentiment and a central bond.

I should add that of course these original sources at both universities have been before examined by other inquirers,—as, for instance, by Mr. Savage,—and that it cannot be expected that many discoveries remain; but the following New England names have not, I believe, before been identified with either university. Thus, I find of Massachusetts pastors, educated wholly or in part at Oxford: Joseph Avery, Stephen Bachiler, Richard Blinman, Henry Green, Joseph Hull, John Maverick, and Edward Norris,—with John Warham, Henry Whitfield, and Nicholas Street of Connecticut. So the Cambridge list is increased by the names of three Plymouth ministers, Christopher Blackwood, William Leverich, and Ralph Partridge; and of four in Massachusetts, Edmund Brown, George Burdett, Robert Fordham, and Thomas Waterhouse; as also by George Fenwick, the founder of Saybrook, who was matriculated at Queen's in 1619, and Ephraim Huet, Mr. Warham's colleague at Windsor. On the other hand, it may be asserted with some confidence, that a few who have been credited by tradition with university training were really never matriculated; in which list must be placed John Lothrop of Scituate, James Noyes and John Woodbridge of Newbury, and Thomas Peters of Saybrook.

In addition to the Oxford and Cambridge men included in these summaries, there were here and there among the first comers a few who had studied at other universities, the most notable, perhaps, being the younger Winthrop, from Dublin, and Nathaniel Eaton, the first head of Harvard College, from Franeker, in Holland.

We commonly reckon the aggregate of the New England immigration down to 1643 at somewhat over 20,000 persons, or 4,000 families, of whom thus only one person in every group of forty families proves to have been of university antecedents. The result implied by such a statement in figures may not seem greatly significant, but, in fact, the character of the element thus singled out chiefly determined the character of the civilization established.

Turning to trace this emigration more in detail, we begin with the Mayflower company.

Elder Brewster, with his year or two of uncompleted study at Cambridge, was, so far as appears, the only man of university training in the Colony from the landing in 1620 till the arrival of the first settled minister, Ralph Smith, in 1629; nor was it till eight

years later that there was any marked and permanent addition to this number.

The dearth of intellectual impulse in Plymouth Colony is sufficiently shown by the well-known fact that it was fifty years from the landing before the first public school was established. And it is equally evident that the lack of schools (owing, of course, largely to the poverty of the people) quenched the desire for higher education. In the volume which Mr. Sibley has published, of biographies of the earliest graduates of Harvard College, coming down to 1658, only one native and two residents of Plymouth Colony are included. The native (Isaac Allerton, of the class of 1650) caught the college fever at New Haven, where his father, after long wanderings from Plymouth, had finally settled, and the two Chauncy boys (graduates of 1651), born in England, can only be called occasional residents of Scituate, from whose uncongenial soil they and their father escaped as soon as possible. In the same length of time, one only of the ninety-eight graduates of Harvard had settled within the Plymouth boundaries,—Thomas Crosby, of the class of 1653, who was preaching without formal ordination to the church in Eastham. At the same date, the summer of 1658, besides this solitary witness for Harvard, stationed on the further side of Cape Cod Bay, the only English university men left in the Colony, of some dozen and a half who had found a longer or shorter refuge there, were the three pastors, Nicholas Street, of Taunton, who was to migrate a few months later to New Haven, on account of inadequate support, Samuel Newman of Rehoboth, and William Wetherell of Scituate. In seven (Plymouth, Duxbury, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable, Marshfield, Bridgewater) out of the eleven towns in the Colony, the pastorate was vacant or not yet established; so that it happened that these four individuals were at once the entire clerical and the entire learned order among a population of perhaps as many thousand souls. Still further to show the low state of religion and learning, it may be added that the six towns in which the pastorate was now vacant waited on the average for ten years each before settling other ministers, and when this step *was* accomplished, such an experience as that at Marshfield, where an illiterate layman (Samuel Arnold) was ordained with no other sanction or ceremony than the laying on of hands of two illiterate lay brethren, was not uncommon. Or, take another indication of the intellectual life, in which Massachusetts Bay a little later showed such great activity. Up to this date of 1658, and even beyond it, the only publications, I believe, which originated within Plymouth Colony were those of Edward Winslow (including the Journal called "Mourt's Relation") and two ser-

mons by William Hooke. There was, too, some revision by Samuel Newman of his Concordance to the Bible, which had already been published before his coming hither.

John Robinson said with truth in his farewell letter to these Pilgrims: "You are not furnished with any persons of special eminency above the rest"; and the slender means which they brought with them and the poverty of the soil which they cultivated conspired for their easy riddance of all their occasional visitors whose powers were at all suited for a wider field. Such men as John Norton, Charles Chauncy, William Hooke, and Roger Williams came and passed on to more promising surroundings in other Colonies; and, putting these aside, I doubt if there was a single educated man of anywise remarkable mental gifts—judging by the standard which the neighboring Colony of the Bay furnished in abundance—who settled there; unless the patient industry of Samuel Newman, the concordance-maker, entitles him to exception, with those who do not gibbet him with Dr. Johnson's definition of a lexicographer, as a "harmless drudge."

The glory of Plymouth Colony lies in the simple faith and courage of the Mayflower company, but we scan the history of her territory in vain to find a single man of comparative eminence in the State or national councils, or a single name that can be remembered in the literature of Massachusetts or the world. And it seems the simplest justice to emphasize the marked contrast between her experience and that of the Colony at the Bay, both founded on the same lines of high religious purpose and steady English common sense, as eminently suggestive of the force and guidance lent to the building of a State by the presence of a body of educated men. The want of the stimulus due to a learned class is as truly seen in the barrenness of the intellectual and political history of Plymouth as the value of such a stimulus is seen in the development of the next succeeding settlement in Massachusetts Bay.

In that settlement, William Blaxston, who graduated from Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1617, and may thus have been a pupil of Hooker or of Cotton, and who presumably emigrated in 1623 to the south side of Massachusetts Bay, so becoming the pioneer of university men within the later limits of the Colony, needs but the barest mention, as his prompt withdrawal removed him from contact with the Colony history.

The story is a familiar one, how in 1629 the Massachusetts Company organized in London under its new charter, and sent over its first supply of colonists, 400 strong. Four ministers were provided; one of them, Francis Bright, from Oxford, but four years out of

college, too good a Churchman to put up with the nonconformity of Puritans, and so returning by almost the first opportunity to England; a second, Ralph Smith, too rigid a separatist to enjoy the decent respect for former church ties which he found here, and so at once transferring himself to plainer Plymouth; and two, Francis Higginson and Samuel Skelton, from Cambridge, in the maturity of their powers, and for the brief span of life that was left them (one dying in 1630, the other in 1635) centres of influence in the Salem community.

But Salem was quickly subordinated to the leadership of the greater company which came with Governor Winthrop and the charter in 1630, when the political life of the new Colony began in earnest. How rapid and fruitful was its growth we do not need to be told. My only object is to point out the working of the leaven which the English universities supplied.

We have seen that it was nine years before the settlement at Plymouth secured a minister, who was also the first university graduate whom her soil entertained. Contrast with this the progress of Massachusetts Bay in the nine years from 1630. Within these years at least threescore university men came from the mother country, and (be it specially remembered) most of them persons of matured experience. Three-fourths of the whole number remained within this Colony of their first choice, scattered from Hingham on the Plymouth border to Dover on the north and to Springfield in the far-off west, through the score of towns, with perhaps 9,000 population, which made up the government of Massachusetts. The two centres of the thriving body were Boston and the newly named Cambridge, where the infant college was already in operation; and half these forty or fifty scholars of the old world were within five miles of the one or the other of these centres. It is not extravagant to say that such a concentration of scholarly men gave the community a tone which it never has lost: and that however subsequent generations on the same spot may have utilized their larger opportunities, the learned element in this first age enjoyed a predominance to which we are strangers.

In 1640, emigration to New England practically ceased, in the prospect of radical changes at home, and the tide actually began to flow backward; but the foundations had been secured, and the men who remained were strong enough to hold the results until, with the aid of the college at Cambridge, the supply of home-trained material began to be ready to take the place of the elders.

There can be no question that the Colony owed the early establishment and the vigorous support of Harvard College to the exer-

tions of those who were familiar with the Cambridge and Oxford of the mother country, or, if we need still further to limit the proposition, to the educated ministry of these towns. The ministry was not in Massachusetts, as in Plymouth, an ill-appreciated rarity. Up to the time when Harvard graduates were ready to take up the work, there had been some threescore ministers regularly inducted into Massachusetts pulpits; and certainly not more than half a dozen of the whole number were destitute of university training. The overpowering force of so uniform an example made a liberal education seem essential to the perpetuity of the decent order of the churches; and the result secured in its train the progress of New England and that of the nation. It is hazardous to transpose history; but I do not think it rash to say that a failure to plant and endow Harvard College for five and twenty years—that is, until the most of the generation of educated men who came over had passed away—would have so stunted and paralyzed the social progress of Massachusetts, as to have altered essentially the whole course of events bearing on national history in which Massachusetts has had a part.

As offshoots from Massachusetts, the Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven were established in 1636 and 1638, but not without serious remonstrance from the mother colony, which, during the few years that yet remained of English emigration, used her best endeavors to prevent any of the stream from being diverted to the new channels. This policy was in the main successful; but the spirit of regard for education was already strong enough in the leaders of both the new Colonies to insure the same kind of development as in Massachusetts, if under less favoring circumstances. The overshadowing influence of the luxuriant intellectual life at the Bay may seem to have interfered to some extent with the independent and symmetrical growth which Thomas Hooker and John Davenport planned for the societies which they planted. Davenport's plans, for instance, embraced the common school, the grammar school, and the college; but, though he only accomplished the establishment of the first two, the third eventually followed, in direct if distant consequence of the influences he set in motion. And in the mean time, up to the date of the founding of the Collegiate School at Saybrook, one in every eight or nine of the graduates of Harvard came from the Colonies in Connecticut. John Davenport's own opportunities of university training had been of the briefest, his residence as an undergraduate being interrupted at the threshold, and his degree in divinity being given on examination after he had begun to preach; and, besides his two colleagues (Hooke and Street), and Abraham Pierson, of Southampton and

Branford, there were no men of English university training connected for any great length of time with the New Haven Colony; but, as the late Professor Kingsley long ago remarked (Historical Discourse at New Haven, p. 41), with his usual perspicacity, "Neither the system of common schools, nor of those of a higher class, originated in any strong expression of public opinion, but was devised and carried forward by such men as John Davenport."

To such men it is owing that we can point to a schoolmaster employed in New Haven during the first year from its foundation,—a fact not paralleled in any other of the first settlements, and to the further fact that the ordinance of Dec. 25, 1641, "that a free school shall be set up in this town, and our pastor, Mr. Davenport, together with the magistrates, shall consider what yearly allowance is meet to be given to it out of the common stock of the town," is not antedated by more than three or four similar orders found elsewhere.

The leading university men in the other Connecticut settlements, at Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, were a trio of graduates of Emanuel College,—Thomas Hooker, Samuel Stone, and John Sherman,—with John Warham of Oxford. Sherman early transferred himself to New Haven; while the others remained as moulding forces of the Colony. Under them and their associates, the progress of Connecticut was so secure and so rapid that in little more than a generation she had twice the number of towns that the New Haven Colony had, with double the wealth, and more than double the acknowledged territory of that at first exceptionally rich and prosperous jurisdiction, and was enabled by the logical force of events, seconded by *finesse* on her own part to which New Haven would hardly have had recourse, to absorb her more uncompromising neighbor.

At Rhode Island and Providence Plantations there is little to detain us. The fact that Roger Williams was a Cambridge Bachelor of Arts may have been of inestimable importance to him in developing and moulding his own mental constitution, and so a large factor in working out the destinies of his plantation; but it went for nothing in the eyes of his neighbors, and failed in a manner of exercising its due influence on his own time and on later generations. Besides Williams, so far as appears, William Blaxston, dwelling apart in hermit-like seclusion, was the only other person in those districts who held any traditions of university life.

Through such channels as these New England traces a large part of what has been noble in her history back to ideas inherited from Cambridge and Oxford. If any one doubts, let him try to imagine, if he can, what the Providence settlement would have been without

Roger Williams, or Connecticut without Thomas Hooker, or New Haven without John Davenport, or even Plymouth without Elder Brewster; let him try to construct the story of Massachusetts Bay, suppressing the presence and the influence, in person and through their posterity, of Winthrop and Saltonstall and Bradstreet; of Wilson and Cotton and Mather; of Eliot and Norton and Shepard; of Nathaniel Ward and Sir Harry Vane; of Harvard and Dunster and Chauncy; and the scores of other less conspicuous men, who were essential parts of the character and growth of town by town the whole settlement over, as they might be enumerated. Blot out of the early New England annals the lives of these her educated leaders, and you have lost the clew to all that was to follow. There might still have been a New England, but how different in spirit and in possibilities of power; and, if we may guess at her history, it would have been written in the words of the Hebrew prophet, "That which the palmer-worm hath left hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath the canker-worm eaten; and that which the canker-worm hath left hath the caterpillar eaten"; for what the Indian had failed to despatch with torch and tomahawk would have been the easy prey of New France on the north, and New Netherland on the west, while Old England was busy with her own civil wars; and what these had failed to divide would have fallen, like the elder colony of Virginia, into the hands of the rapacious and unprincipled courtiers of the Restoration, or would have been added to the conquests from Dutchmen and Frenchmen, as a subject province in which the traditions of liberty had already lost their meaning.

Or let the contrast be with the actual, and not with the possible: How *did* the development of New England compare with the contemporary progress of Virginia? Successful colonization there began in 1607; and we have a detailed census of the population in 1624, which gives the result of seventeen years' experience. The ships of the Virginia Company had brought over in this period some seven or eight thousand persons; but complaint had been loud among the resident authorities from the first that the bulk of the immigrants were either too idle or too incompetent to earn a living; and these volunteer colonists, whose misconduct had been so shameful as to require the strong hand of martial law to restrain them, with its penalties of incredible rigor,—which made it, for instance, death for one of them to pluck a flower in his neighbor's garden, or to kill even a single barnyard fowl belonging to himself (unless, indeed, the general in supreme command of the Colony had first given formal consent),—these precious volunteer colonists had

been afterward reinforced by sundry shiploads of convicts, emptied out of overflowing English prisons, and of London street Arabs, "of whom," says the record, "the city was specially desirous to be disburdened"; and, crowning injustice of all, family life, at first discouraged, had been introduced with infamous method, by despatching authorized kidnappers to go up and down through quiet English villages and seize by force hapless maidens, who might be transported, and bought as wives by the highest bidders. The ordinary and extraordinary accidents of life, pestilence and famine, internal strife and Indian massacre, desertion to the red man's wigwam and to the mother country, had reduced the seven or eight thousand emigrants by 1624 to a beggarly total of 1,275 persons, of whom over 1,000 were males. But two considerable settlements had been planted in these seventeen years,—those at James City and Elizabeth City,—in which about a third of the entire population was gathered, the rest being scattered in smaller groups or on isolated plantations. In the whole Colony there were resident but four clergymen, not more than one of whom (Hant Wyatt, a brother of the Governor, and private chaplain to his family and retinue) was a university man; the only other representative of liberal education being the Colony physician, Dr. John Pott, a Bachelor of Arts at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1610.

Besides this census, all personal details in the period are conspicuously wanting; but it is certain that nothing deserving the name of intellectual or religious life had gained a foothold. There is, to be sure, in the proceedings of the earliest representative assembly of Virginia, in 1619, a reference to a project for a "college"; but let no one suppose this a forerunner of Harvard. It was not a college for English children, but an Indian school, proposed in deference to the purpose avowed in the charter by which Virginia was granted, "for the propagation of the Christian religion and reclaiming of people barbarous"; and, moreover, it was only a project on paper, for which donations were received from England, but which never got into operation. That the college of William and Mary was chartered generations afterwards, in 1693, was due to the enterprise of a single persistent Scotchman, James Blair, though not even his zeal could make the early period of its history a success.

As for civil liberty, a representative assembly had indeed been instituted; but its legislation was not valid until reviewed by the Company in London. Financially the Colony had not been prosperous; and the natural disappointment of the London stockholders at this result cast further blight on the progress of the venture;

while the exigencies of home politics gave the king a speedy reason for revoking the Company's charter, and for governing Virginia himself.

The census quoted is in connection with the report of royal commissioners, sent over to inquire into the state of the Colony; and the substance of that report was that those of the emigrants who had escaped death by sickness, famine, or massacre, were living in necessity and want, and in continual danger from the savages; that the country had yielded as yet few or no staples of food; and that nothing but stringent and peremptory measures would save the enterprise from destruction.

Such was the inglorious conclusion of seventeen years' colonization in Virginia. At a later time came a new emigration, which supplied new elements of power.

To Massachusetts Providence had denied the doubtful blessing of a luxuriant soil. In every other respect how did her first seventeen years eclipse the elder colony, in performance and in promise! Her numbers, with all the depletion caused by sending forth flourishing offshoots, must still have been at least a dozen times more than Virginia could boast. No scarcity of food, nor malarial scourge, nor bloody mutiny, nor Indian massacre, had decimated the northern as the southern settlement. The form of government was truly, not doubtfully, representative; no company of merchants or nobles beyond the seas exercised any right to impose laws or introduce governors and generals. The administration of justice was in the Colony's name. The oaths of allegiance for freemen and for sojourners recognized no sovereign outside the Colony borders. Massachusetts was her own mistress, and ruled her house well; nay more, she had consolidated the neighbor states into a confederacy, in which her own will was the leading spirit. The Virginia system of scattered plantations along the river-banks, with here and there a fort and store, rejoicing in the title of a city, was replaced here by thirty vigorous townships, each an organized republic, composed in law of persons united for the purpose of establishing a church and a plantation, with an educated minister, who was in most cases the prime mover in all the greater interests of the community.

For more than half the brief life of the Colony the college at Cambridge had been in successful operation; and now, in this year of grace 1647, a system of common and grammar schools for every township was deliberately marked out,—a step of progress which New England learned from no precedent in the mother country, or in any older colony of English or of foreign planting. Close on

the establishment of the college had followed the importation of a printing-press, which soon came to be college property, as part of the dowry of the first president's wife. It served for immediate and pressing uses (men could not do without fresh almanacs, and psalm-books, and copies of the laws); but the voluminous treatises which learned pastors of Massachusetts churches stood ready to print had long to be sent across the sea for perfection of typography.

It is needless to ask if these things were paralleled in Virginia at any such date. We cannot forget her bigoted governor's characteristic boast, a quarter of a century later, that "We have no free schools, nor any printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years."

But let me not be thought, in suggesting these contrasts, to lay an undue stress on the mere membership of a university, in the case of certain leaders, as comprehending all that was needed for the development of New England. The experiment of self-government might well have failed, if the leadership of Winthrop and Hooker and Davenport and their fellows had been weighted down by a motley crew of unthrifty, irresponsible vagrants. It was "government of the people, and for the people," but none the less needfully "by the people," and dependent on their common support and intelligent co-operation. I only claim that the guiding and directing force was supplied by an element which was itself moulded on the banks of the Cam and the Isis, under the influence and refinements of the best culture which the England of that day could give.

And, again, these comparisons of the southern and northern colonies are totally independent of the question, which had ultimately the greater number of picked settlers of *gentle* birth and breeding. It may be well to admit at once that New England enters into no such competition. The circumstance that only three out of all the Mayflower company can be traced to English homes is significant, if not typical; and those who have given most attention to New England family history are the most impressed with the hopelessness of the attempt—I mean in the great majority of cases—to trace the fathers of New England in their English origin, and especially to connect them with families of position or title on that side the Atlantic. The greater honor lies perhaps in just this descent from the humble stock of English common people of indistinguishable ancestry. It is enough to know that the primitive aristocracy of New England was an aristocracy of intellect consecrated to duty, and not of blood; that her peerage and her knighthood were honors direct from the creative hand of God, and not from the touch of a monarch.

NEW HAVEN IN 1784.

[From the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Vol. IV, 1888. Read January 21, 1884.]

On the evening of January 21, 1784, the President of Yale College wrote in his diary: "This afternoon the Bill or Charter of the City of New Haven passed the Governor and Council, and completes the incorporation of the Mayor, four Aldermen and twenty Common Council." It is fitting to recall on this anniversary some characteristics of the New Haven of 1784.

The town then covered the territory now occupied, not only by the present town, but also by West Haven, East Haven, North Haven, (the greater part of) Woodbridge, Hamden, and Bethany, in all an area of perhaps ten by thirteen miles, or from ten to twelve times as extensive as now. The inhabitants were estimated at 7,960 souls; of whom 3,350, less than almost any one of our wards to-day, were in that part which was chartered as a city. There are now within the town-limits of 1784, by a more than tenfold increase, some 87,000 inhabitants, while the city proper has multiplied more than twentyfold.

In the settled part of the city (that is, the original nine squares called "the town-plat," and the south-eastward extension to the water, known as "the new township"), there were some 400 dwellings mostly of wood, but a good number of brick, and one or two of stone. A nearly contemporaneous map (1775) on our walls shows that these dwellings lay almost wholly in the area bounded by Meadow, George, York, Grove, Olive and Water streets,—the northern part of this area being by far the least fully inhabited.

The streets were without regular lines of trees, without pavements, sidewalks, or names; but it was an awkward mode of designation by localities identified with personal names (as we still speak of Cutler Corner); and eight months after the charter was given, 21 of the principal streets (Broadway, Chapel, Cherry, Church, College, Court, Crown, Elm, Fair, Fleet, George, Grove, High, Meadow, Olive, Orange, State, Temple, Union, Water, and York) received at a city meeting their present names. A few may have been already known by these titles; I dare not affirm it of any but College and Chapel streets, in both which cases the names were applied only to the immediate vicinity of the two college buildings which

occasioned them. A few more had been known by other names: thus, the lower part of Church street was called Market street, from the market-house at the open intersection of George and Church; State street is called on the map of 1775 Queen street, a designation which would seem to go back to distant Queen Anne; part of George street was long known as Leather lane; York street was sometimes called West street, and Grove street North street.

Of the new names Church street was suggested by the Episcopal Church which stood on the east side of that street, a little nearer to Chapel than to Center street; Temple street, from the two churches on the Green, in front of which it ran; York street, from the name of the "Yorkshire quarter," given at the very beginning to that neighborhood where some leading immigrants from Yorkshire sat down; Elm street from the already patriarchal trees planted in 1686 in front of the Rev. Mr. Pierpont's dwelling and remaining almost to our day; and Court street, because it was intended that it should run across the Green past the Court House.

New Haven had already been described in print (Peters' History of Connecticut) as "the most beautiful town in New England"; and one special feature which contributed to this impression was the Green, usually called the market place, because the southern border was used for this purpose. Dr. Jedidiah Morse, however, states in the first edition of his American Geography (1789) that "the beauty of the public square is greatly diminished by the burial ground and several of the public buildings which occupy a considerable part of it."

Chief among these buildings was an elegant and commodious brick State House or County Court House, built in 1761-64 by the State and County jointly, and standing a little to the north of it, and much nearer Temple street than the present Trinity church; it had both east and west doors, furnished with stone steps; the first floor was devoted to court rooms and offices, and the second to the use of the two houses of the General Assembly at its October sessions, while the third floor was an open hall. The judge of the County Court was Col. James Wadsworth, a graduate at Yale in 1748, of whose college days an interesting reminiscence is preserved in the plan which he drew of New Haven in his senior year and which was engraved in 1806.

Next to this building stood what was still the "New Brick" meeting-house of the First Church, built in 1753-57, measuring about seventy-five by fifty feet, and holding an average congregation of not much over nine hundred persons; it was on the site of the present Centre Church, and was arranged internally in a correspond-

ing way, with the pulpit toward the west, but it was as if the church now standing were shifted around sidewise, the north and south length being the greatest, and the bell-tower at the northern end. The minister was the Rev. Chauncey Whittelsey, now near the end of his life, having reached the age of sixty-six, and having been settled for thirty-six years.

The earliest secession or separation from the common church of the whole town had been the society formed in consequence of the Whitefieldian revival, and after a long struggle finally recognized by authority of the General Assembly in 1759, and dubbed with the unaccountable name of White Haven Society.[48] Their wooden meeting-house, built in 1744 and much enlarged in 1764, measuring about sixty feet square, and called from its color the Blue Meeting-house, stood on the southeast corner of Elm and Church streets. The congregation worshipping there had dwindled from a much larger number than that of the parent society, to less than eight hundred hearers, under the dry preaching of that acute metaphysician, Jonathan Edwards, the younger, now aged thirty-nine, and for fifteen years their pastor.

The majority of those who had left Mr. Edwards' meeting as much from dislike of his extreme "New Divinity" views as from his dull preaching, had formed a new congregation called the Fair Haven Society, now the largest in town or about one thousand persons, who worshipped in a house the size of the "New Brick," built of wood, in 1770, on the side of the present church of the United Society. Their minister was Allyn Mather, a young man of thirty-six, now in feeble health, and among the congregation was the Rev. Samuel Bird, Mr. Edwards' predecessor, and Mr. Mather's frequent substitute in the pulpit; both of them died within the year. It is one of the curious felicities of history that not only have these two divergent offshoots from the old First Church long ago come together in the United Society, but now they are preparing to absorb also another organization (the Third Church) which represented in its origin an opposite extreme of theological belief.

The great majority of New Haven in 1784 was thus of one religious faith. But besides these societies of the Congregational order there was a small Episcopal society, not numbering much over two hundred members, which occupied what was distinctively known as "The Church," built in 1754-55, on Church street, with the Rev. Bela Hubbard as rector, now forty-four years of age, and having been here for fourteen years; this was the smallest in size of any of

[48] May this name have been given with a covert reference to Whitefield?

the church buildings mentioned, somewhat less than sixty by forty feet.

Besides the Episcopalians there was a handful of Sandemanians, the most radical of "New-Light" sects, too much so for even Mr. Edwards to tolerate, who had held separate services for a dozen years or more; for a time they had had two elders or ministers in charge of their simple worship, but these leaders had sympathized (as did others of the flock) too plainly with Tory principles to remain here in the Revolution; and the remnant that was left had dwindled into insignificance. There were also one or two Jewish families, the first of which appeared here in 1772.

I have mentioned the chief buildings on the Green. There was, besides, a wooden jail, on College street, built in 1735, with Stephen Munson, a college graduate, for jailor; but this dilapidated structure was replaced, late in 1784, by a new jail, built just across the street, under the eaves of the college. Adjacent to the jail on the south was the old County Court House, the upper floor of which had been used also as a State House for many years before the new one was built; in this building, or in a separate building near it, the Hopkins Grammar School, which was now in a very low condition, was kept by Mr. Richard Woodhull, a middle-aged man, of competent learning, whose career as a college tutor had been interrupted many years before by his conversion to Sandemanianism, and whose attitude in the Revolution as a non-resistant and loyalist had interfered still further with his prospects. Besides this, there was a brick school-house on the Elm street side of the Green, north of and older than the Fair Haven meeting-house, and here youth of both sexes were taught.

Occupying a good part of the upper Green, which then sloped much more than now from west to east, on the sides and at the back of the Brick meeting-house, was the ancient burial-ground, of irregular shape, which had lately been inclosed by a rough board fence. This was, I suppose, the only fence on or about the whole Green, the rest being entirely open to the surrounding streets, and the more level lower Green especially being a common thoroughfare for all sorts of travel.

Two hundred and fifty buttonwood and elm trees, set out in 1759 around the Green, were now half grown; of these I take it that the solitary buttonwood, still standing opposite the First Methodist Church, is a survivor; the veteran elm at the southeast corner of the Green may be older, and a few others of our oldest elms may be relics of this planting. On the Green itself no trees were standing; but a single row of elms was placed, a year or two later, on the line of Temple street, in front of the State House and the churches.

Next in interest to the Green was the College which fronted upon it. The building originally named Yale College, which had stood in the front corner of the yard, had recently been torn down; and the three buildings which in 1784 represented the College are all now standing, though greatly transformed. The oldest, Connecticut Hall, or South Middle, built in 1750-51, instead of being the four-storied structure which it is to-day, had but three stories with a gambrel roof and lodged about one-third of the students; what is now the Athenæum, built in 1761-63, was of three stories, with steeple and bell, and contained the chapel, library, and apparatus-room; and in the rear was the new dining-hall, built in 1782, later the chemical laboratory. Besides these there were the President's house, built of wood in 1722, and an elegant mansion for that date, standing a little north of the present College street Church; and the Professor of Divinity's house, also belonging to the College, on York street, on the ground now appropriated to the Medical School.

The President was Dr. Ezra Stiles, one of the most learned Americans of his generation, now 56 years of age, having been six years in office, while the Professor of Divinity, or College pastor, and at the same time lecturer on theological topics, was the Rev. Samuel Wales, a young man of 36, installed only two years before, and now at the height of his usefulness, his remarkable power as a preacher as yet unaffected by the insidious disease which soon ended his career.

There were enrolled as students during the current term (Nov. 12-Jan. 13), the first term of the College year, 260 undergraduates, 25 per cent. more than in any other American college; but the great irregularity of attendance which was then common reduced the number actually present to less than 225. The Junior class was instructed by Tutor Josiah Meigs, and the Sophomores by Tutor Matthew Talcott Russell, while the Freshman class was so unusually large as to be divided under the care of the two youngest tutors, Simeon Baldwin and Henry Channing. The other officers were James Hillhouse, a young lawyer, treasurer, and Jeremiah Atwater, steward.

I have thus named all that can be called public buildings in the town; certainly there was no bank,—that luxury did not come till 1792; no post-office,—the infrequent mails were handled in a corner of a small country-store; no almshouse,—for was it not voted, at the town-meeting in March, 1783, "That the selectmen vendue [that is, farm out at auction] the poor of the town which are now supported by the town so that they may be supported in the cheapest manner;" no hospital, except the town pest-house on Grapevine

Point, for the inoculation and treatment of small-pox, then so formidable; and no public library, though this is less a wonder, since it is also true of New Haven in 1884.

Turning to the classes which made up society, besides the professional men already mentioned, there were eight or nine lawyers in active practice; but the very recent growth of that profession in importance and public favor, and the losses it had suffered through loyalty to the British crown, are shown by the fact that the senior member of the bar was Charles Chauncey, only thirty-six years of age, while the leader of the profession in brilliancy was Pierpont Edwards, two years younger, whose annual income of $2000 was said a little later to be the largest earned by any lawyer in the State.

The medical profession had also eight or nine representatives in what became the city,—the leading physician, alike in reputed skill and in social status, being Dr. Leverett Hubbard, President of the County Medical Society which was founded this same month, who lived in his new stone dwelling still standing at the junction of George and Meadow streets. Dr. John Spalding, after his removal here in the spring of 1784, was considered the leading surgeon.

As for the business of the city, there was the usual provision for domestic trading common to a place of this size. A statistical enumeration gives fifty-six shops, half a dozen of which carried from two to three thousand pounds (sterling) worth of goods, and the rest from £500 to £150 worth. What afterwards became the leading retail house of Broome & Platt was not removed here from New York till September, 1784; Shipman, Drake, Howell, Perit, Helms, Austin, are among the other leading names. There were no local manufacturers,—the long course of British rule had thoroughly stamped out everything of that sort; the utmost that was done was the ordinary spinning and weaving for domestic use, and a little iron-working and papermaking.

In one direction, however, there was activity. New Haven, in the fulfillment of the dream of its founders and of all the early generations, was already of importance as a sea-port; it had in operation extensive oyster-fisheries; it had its Union Wharf and Long Wharf, though not so long as now; already, since the announcement of peace, vessels had begun to sail direct for England and Ireland, though the mainstay was commerce with the West Indies, so far as they were open to us, in the export of horses, oxen, pork, beef, and lumber, with return cargoes of sugar and molasses. In 1784 thirty-six American vessels, with one British ship and one Danish, are recorded as entering this port, while thirty-three sea-going vessels were owned here, all engaged in foreign and West-India trade, as

against forty that were owned just before the war began in 1775; at the close of warlike operations in 1781, this number had dwindled to one solitary vessel, so that the return of prosperity had been rapid in this branch; most of those now owned were built here or in the immediate neighborhood. There was at least one line of packets carrying both passengers and freight to New York weekly during the open season; and another weekly line running to New London and Norwich. The collector of customs for the United States Government was Jonathan Fitch, a son of Governor Fitch, of Norwalk, and a Yale graduate, who had married early a step-daughter of President Clap and had served for a generation before the war as steward of the college.

The central government was also represented by the post-master, Elias Beers, whose office was next the store of his elder brother, Isaac Beers, on the College street side of the corner now occupied by the New Haven House. Post-riders took letters twice (or in severe winter weather, once) a week to New York, doing a large commission business to the benefit of their own pockets, by the way. The return mails from New York divided at New Haven, one going each week *via* New London and Providence to Boston, the other taking the inland route to the same destination by Hartford and Springfield, and by each route there was a return mail weekly; the branching of the post-routes at this point into two eastward routes, as to this day of the railroads, is of course a reminder of the historical position of New Haven as the first settlement on the direct road between New York and Boston, and thus from the first the point to which all travel for New York from the eastward converged.

A stage for Hartford and Springfield left here every Wednesday; and another left on Saturday, which connected at Hartford with one leaving for Boston on Monday morning, which going by the most direct route (Somers, Brookfield, and Worcester) did not reach the journey's end until Thursday evening; the post-riders, however, moved more rapidly than this.

The New Haven post-office was the receiving-office for all the inland region not served by the Hartford, New York, and New London offices; thus, not only all letters for such near points as Cheshire, Wallingford, and Waterbury, but all for towns as far off as Litchfield and New Milford were left here, to be delivered to any one bound for those parts; if not soon called for, they were advertised in the New Haven newspaper, and after three months from that date, were sent to the Dead Letter department of the General post-office at Philadelphia, which was in charge of Ebenezer Hazard, Postmaster-General.

The post-office adjoined Isaac Beers's store; and this introduces us to what was, after the College, the intellectual center (in a sense) of New Haven. The store was a part of the proprietor's house, which was also an inn, and he sold—besides books—general groceries, and the best of gin and brandy. Of books he was, I think, one of the largest direct importers in the United States; and very remarkable are the lists of his latest acquisitions which he publishes now and then in the weekly newspaper, covering sometimes an entire page.

Besides this, there was at least one other general bookstore, of less pretensions, that of Daggett and Fitch; and one specially devoted to school-books, kept by Abel Morse, the teacher of a select school for girls; Goodrich and Darling, druggists, also dealt in books. The office of Thomas and Samuel Green, who printed the newspaper and such pamphlets as the divines and politicians of the neighborhood furnished for publication, was over Elias Shipman's store, which was directly opposite the post-office, on College and Chapel streets, the site of Townsend's Block; but they, I suppose, sold little but their own publications.

The newspaper was the *Connecticut Journal*, begun by the same publishers in 1767, and continuing under various proprietors until 1835. It appeared every Wednesday on a sheet of four pages, about fourteen by nine or ten inches in size, and was poorly edited, even for that day; so that we may not wonder that an early evidence of progress in the new city should have been the establishment, in May, 1784, of a second paper, the *New Haven Gazette*, price eight shillings a year, to edit which Josiah Meigs resigned his College tutorship.

In connection with the local publishing business may be mentioned the name of Abel Buell, the ingenious mechanic,—at various times in his life, engraver, type-founder, coiner, and goldsmith,—who advertises in March, 1784, a map of the United States, the first ever compiled, engraved, and finished by one hand; and also the name of Amos Doolittle, the earliest copper-plate engraver in America, whose shop for sign-painting and the higher branches of his art was on the present College square, fronting the Green.

Passing to the political and social condition of the city, we are to remember that the whole country had just come out of an exhausting war; and New Haven had suffered her full share, much beyond the most of New England. A sermon just preached by the Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, of North Haven, at the celebration on the news of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, estimates the loss of New Haven in soldiers and seamen on the American side during the war at 210; and the loss of property by the raid of the British

troops on this town was reckoned at over £30,800, in a depreciated currency.

But peace was now secured, and the general sentiment among the leaders of opinion in the town was hopeful of brighter days than ever; although the town taxes were fourpence on the pound, or nearly two cents on the dollar, double the usual rate before the war, and this high figure was supplemented moreover by state taxes of three shillings and twopence (sixteen cents on the dollar).

The fullest picture of our modern daily life is the newspaper; but for 1784 *The Connecticut Journal* is a poor help. It is guiltless of anything so direct as an editorial, and almost equally guiltless of contributions from correspondents; the local editor and the interviewer are alike unknown. In other words, the entire paper is made up of selections from other sheets of foreign news (usually about ten weeks old), of very scanty items from New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and a few other prominent places, and of advertisements. The selections bear largely at this date on the novel situation of the United States, just formally acknowledged as independent. They feed the popular interest in subjects which we know were under discussion elsewhere,—such as, preëminently, the approval or non-approval of the so-called Commutation Bill, recently passed by the Congress of the Confederation, for commuting the half-pay for life, previously voted to Revolutionary officers and soldiers, into five years' full pay in one gross sum; the change was really a shrewd piece of economy for the government, and yet was most unpopular, especially in New England; a convention met at Middletown, in December, 1783, to record Connecticut's dissent from such a creation of a moneyed aristocracy.

Another timely subject, of far-reaching consequences, was the question of giving Congress the right to levy moderate import duties on specified articles, for meeting the interest on the public debt; the principle of Federal government was involved; approval of the impost meant adhesion to the theory of a strong central government as necessary, while disapproval was a preference for the existing Confederation, already on its downward career to powerlessness and contempt.

In these twin disputes, the Connecticut Legislature committed itself to the policy of narrowness and conservatism by resolving in 1783 that the requisitions of Congress were not valid until after the approval of the State; and in January, 1784, they voted down (69 to 37) the impost recommended by Congress, the New Haven representative voting with the majority. At the next election, however, the people repudiated the action of their deputies; and Pierpont

Edwards and James Hillhouse, of New Haven, concurred with the great majority of the new General Assembly in granting Congress the desired authority to raise this slender revenue.

The current advertisements show the great confusion of the time in respect to financial standards. Goods are on sale for cash, for bank notes, for Morris's notes, Mr. Hillegas' notes, Pickering's certificates, soldiers' notes, State money, all kinds of lumber, grain, oxen, cows, potash, country produce, etc., etc. Bank notes were the issues of the bank at Philadelphia, the only institution of the kind in the Union; Morris's notes were the issues of treasury-notes by Robert Morris, superintendent of finance of the United States; Hillegas was the treasurer of Congress, and Pickering was Quartermaster-General; soldiers' notes were the interest-bearing certificates entitling the army to their half-pay for life, or to full pay for five years; and State money meant the outstanding bills of credit or paper money issued in the early years of the war by the State government, at convenient denominations, from two pence to two pounds. By cash was meant at that date, before Gouverneur Morris's system of decimal currency (which we now use) had been adopted by Congress, and a mint set up, a miscellaneous foreign coinage, mainly English and Spanish, with a few coppers of local origin; it was through familiarity with the Spanish currency, that the term dollar was already in general use.

Socially, the characteristics of New Haven were much the same as throughout New England. The population was still of pure English descent, and a homely familiarity of intercourse prevailed; while the adventuring spirit of commercial life, traversing the seas, tended to widen views, and the presence of the College was felt as a cultivating influence, bringing hither a constant succession of intelligent and famous visitors. The specially cold winter of 1783-4 was not a favorable season for travel, but President Stiles's diary records the entertainment, among others, of Major General John Sullivan, of New Hampshire, of Mr. Gay, a (supposed) son of the poet, of Ira Allen, a brother of Ethan Allen, and one of the founders of Vermont, and of John Ledyard, the distinguished traveler.

I have not time to dwell on details of the social life of a century ago: if it was not the hurried and feverish life of the present, no more was it the ascetic and constrained life of a century earlier; there was abundance of gaiety of a simple sort; and the shopkeepers publish prompt advertisements of the arrival of fresh invoices of "gentlemen and ladies' dancing gloves for the City Assembly," of "chip-hats of the newest taste," of "new figured, fashionable cotton chintz and calicoes, proper for ladies' winter

dress," of "elegant figured shauls," of "ladies' tiffany balloon hats," and so on *ad infinitum*,—showing that human nature had the same kind of interest then as now.

As one part of their social life, we must remember this as the time when domestic slavery was general in New Haven. The importing of slaves was forbidden since 1774, but the papers have occasional, not frequent advertisements for the sale of likely negroes, or it may be a family of negroes, in respect to whom "a good title will be given;" sometimes it is for a term of years (perhaps till the attainment of legal majority, when by the will of some former owner freedom was to be given), and sometimes it is noted that, in the lack of ready money, rum and sugar will be taken in part payment. The relations of masters and slaves were in most cases here the best possible; yet sensible men were uneasy under the inconsistency of the system, and President Stiles writes in his diary, in December, 1783: "The constant annual importation of negroes into America and the West Indies is supposed to have been of late years about 60,000. Is it possible to think of this without horror?"

I pass on to the special circumstances which made New Haven a city.

The origin of the movement it may be difficult to trace. Certainly we cannot adopt the earliest date that has been assigned for such an origin; for that would commit us to the acceptance of a statement by the notoriously inaccurate Samuel Peters, who in giving in his *History of Connecticut* (1781) the story of the Phantom Ship, which sailed from this port in 1647, says that she carried a request for a patent for the colony and for a charter for the city of New Haven; this part of his tale is a pure fabrication.

The first step which I can fix in the genealogy of the charter is a vote in town-meeting, December 9, 1771, in these words: "Whereas a motion was made to the town that this town might have the privileges of a city, and that proper measures might be taken to obtain the same, it is thereupon Voted that Roger Sherman" [and seventeen others] "be a Committee to take the same into consideration and judge of the motion what is best for the town to do with regard to the same and report thereupon to the town at another town-meeting." This committee never reported, so far as the records show, nor do the public prints of the day refer to the matter. Roger Sherman, the chairman, then fifty years old, and for ten years a resident of New Haven, was already eminent in the regards of his fellow-townsmen, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and a member of the Governor's Council, or Upper House of the Assembly, though still keeping a small country-store opposite the College on Chapel street.

Ten years passed without further sign, until in December, 1781, the town was obliged to take cognizance of efforts which had lately been gathering strength, for the creation of new towns from the more distant parts of New Haven. At a town-meeting of this date, a committee was therefore appointed to report a plan for the division of the town into several distinct townships; and this committee reported the same month in favor of setting off the portions which afterwards became Woodbridge, East Haven, and North Haven. These towns were not in fact incorporated until after the city of New Haven; but the one movement was a complement of the other.

At the close of the Revolution the two most prosperous centers of population in this country were Philadelphia, with nearly 30,000 inhabitants, and New York, with a little under 25,000. Both were cities: New York having received a charter from James II. in 1686, during the spasm of liberal zeal which marked the beginning of his reign; and Philadelphia having been similarly endowed in 1701 by the proprietor of Pennsylvania, the ardent friend and quondam political mentor of James II. Besides these, I do not recall any other incorporated cities in the Union at this date, except Albany, which was chartered at the same time and under the same circumstances as New York, but was now of less population than New Haven, and Richmond, incorporated in 1782, but only a small village in point of numbers.

The prosperity and size of Philadelphia and New York were, however, objects of emulation; and there is some evidence that it was from an ambition of rivaling their prominence that a charter was desired for New Haven. This may have been especially in view of the long occupation of New York by the British, and a consequent interruption of the previous dependence of our dealers on New York merchants for imports from England and for the return of remittances thither; New York had just been evacuated, and might not the two places begin new careers more on an equality, if New Haven were elevated to the dignity of a city?

To recur to President Stiles's diary, we have this entry on October 20, 1783: "Sign'd a petition to the Assembly for incorporating New Haven as a city." The Assembly was then holding its regular fall session in New Haven, and so continued until November 1, when it adjourned to meet again in January in a special session, for the purpose of revising the laws of the State. The October session was made memorable by the announcement of Governor Trumbull's determination to retire from public life at the next election, on account of his advanced age (73).

The petition referred to by Dr. Stiles is on file (with 214 signatures) in the State Library. It bases the desired action on the hin-

drances to an extension of commerce, which "arise for want of a due regulation of the internal police" of the town. Specifically, "it is matter of no small importance that wharves, streets and highways, be commodious for business, and kept continually in good repair;" and such a result cannot be attained, unless the memorialists have a jurisdiction of their own. Hence the petition, that the inhabitants within specified limits "be made a corporation," with power to enact by-laws, and that a Court be constituted for the same jurisdiction. A bill brought in in accordance with this petition was passed at the same session by the Upper House; but the Lower House insisted that it be referred to the adjourned session for their consideration, and it was so referred.

On the 21st of November, Dr. Stiles writes: "Examining the Act or Charter proposed for the City of New Haven." This interval of examination resulted in making the final draft of the charter quite different in details from that presented in October

The Assembly was to meet in New Haven on Thursday, January 8, 1784; and on Monday, January 5, at a town-meeting, with Roger Sherman in the chair, a resolution was passed, "requesting the representatives in the Assembly," who were Captain Henry Daggett and Captain Jesse Ford, "to exert themselves that the Act for incorporating a part of the town be passed with all convenient speed."

Owing to unusually bad traveling, the adjourned session did not open until Tuesday, January 13. The presiding officer of the Upper House was His Excellency Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Lebanon, who, as was his custom, lodged at the house of President Stiles; while the Speaker of the Lower House was the Hon. Colonel William Williams, also of Lebanon, well known as a signer of the Declaration of 1776.

As usual, all Acts passed by the Assembly are dated as of the first day of the session, and as usual the weekly newspapers give none of the interesting details of legislative proceedings; so that it is only from the unprinted pages of Dr. Stiles's Diary that we gain the exact knowledge of the day when the charter was finally passed.

The next week's *Connecticut Journal,* however, contains the notification of the first meeting of the city, to be held on February 10; and in the *Journal* of February 4 appears an advertisement by the selectmen of the town, announcing that, in accordance with a paragraph in the act of incorporation of the city, an opportunity will be given on Thursday, February 5, for any who are qualified to become freemen of the State, but have not yet taken the free-

man's oath, to appear and be admitted, so as to participate in the first city election.

On the day appointed, Dr. Stiles was among those taking the oath; and he records that the total number in the city who are qualified to become freemen, as now certified by the selectmen, is three hundred and forty-three, of whom fifty-five (about one-sixth) are college graduates; eighty-two of the three hundred and forty-three (about one-fourth) have not taken the freeman's oath,—some being absent, some disabled, some indifferent. The full list, which he appends, is of great interest, and might instructively be compared, on the one hand, with the roll of original planters, in 1640, and on the other hand with the roll of our voters to-day. In 1784 the families most largely represented in the voting population were, Austin (a name introduced in the generation after the settlement, not among the first-comers) and Trowbridge, the name which has multiplied beyond any other in the original company; next followed Atwater, Bishop, Hotchkiss, Munson, Bradley, Mix, Thompson, and Townsend.

Dr. Stiles further judges that there were about six hundred adult males living within the city limits, showing that nearly every other man was disfranchised, either by the operation of the qualification limiting suffrage to those holding real estate which would yield a rental of £2 *per annum*, or personal estate worth £40, or else disfranchised by their loyalty to Great Britain in the late war.

The election of city officers was appointed for February 10; and as the General Assembly was still in session, the third story of the State House was the place of meeting. Of the 261 freemen who had qualified, over 250, says Dr. Stiles, attended at the opening of the polls, but only 249 votes were recorded on the first ballot, that for mayor; of these just the number necessary for a choice, 125, were cast for Roger Sherman, 102 for Deacon Thomas Howell, and 22 for Thomas Darling.

Mr. Sherman was now in his 63d year, and was unquestionably the most distinguished resident of the new city. That he did not carry a larger vote may have been due to his personal characteristics; that aristocratic, chilling reserve of manner which his juniors have reported of him, may well have stood in the way of popularity. Moreover, there were undercurrents of feeling, as we shall see, that would have prevented a cordial uniting on any one. It is an evidence of Mr. Sherman's acknowledged merits that at the time of this election he was absent, in Annapolis, where he had been for a month in attendance as a member of Congress, which had migrated southwards, pending the expected establishment of a capital near the falls of the Potomac.

Sherman's chief competitor for the mayoralty, Deacon Howell of the First Church, now in his 65th year, was chosen Senior Alderman, and thus in the Mayor's absence became the active head of the government; it is remarkable that neither was of old New Haven stock, Sherman being a native of Massachusetts and Howell's father having immigrated from Long Island.

The other aldermen were Samuel Bishop, previously identified with the town-clerk's office for forty years, and brought into wide notoriety at the end of his long life as President Jefferson's appointee to the collectorship of the port; Deacon David Austin, of the White Haven Church; and Isaac Beers, the bookseller. The interest in the election of twenty common councilmen, which was not completed till the third day, dwindled so rapidly that the total number of votes for the last places was only about one hundred. At the conclusion of the election (February 12) all the new officials except the absent mayor were sworn in, and the city government was finally organized.

Dr. Stiles's valuable diary gives an inside view of the election, under date of February 13, when he says: "The city politics are founded in an endeavor silently to bring Tories into an equality and supremacy among the Whigs. The Episcopalians are all Tories but two, and all qualified on this occasion, though despising Congress government before; they may perhaps be forty voters. There may be twenty or thirty of Mr. Whittelsey's meeting added to these. Perhaps one-third of the citizens," that is, I suppose, one-third of the 261 who had taken the freeman's oath, "may be hearty Tories, one-third Whigs, and one-third indifferent. Mixing all up together, the election has come out, Mayor and two Aldermen, Whigs; two Aldermen, Tories. Of the Common Council, five Whigs, five flexibles but in heart Whigs, eight Tories. The two Sheriffs," Elias Stilwell and Parsons Clark, "and Treasurer," Hezekiah Sabin, "Whigs; the first Sheriff firm, the other flexible."

From these hints it would appear that the so-called "Tory" element had been concerned in the entire movement for a charter. I may add that at a meeting held on March 8, on the motion of Pierpont Edwards, a committee of eight was appointed, "to consider of the propriety and expediency of admitting as inhabitants of this town persons who in the course of the late war have adhered to the cause of Great Britain against these United States, and are of fair characters, and will be good and useful members of society and faithful citizens of this State." In their report, made the same day, this committee deduced from the independence of the several States and the spirit of peace and philanthropy displayed in the

"Recommendations" of Congress based on the treaty of peace, that it was in point of law proper to admit such as are above described, but not any who were guilty of unauthorized plundering and murder. As for expediency, they suggested that no nation is truly great unless it is also distinguished for justice and magnanimity; and argued that it would be magnanimous to restore these persons, and especially that the commercial future of New Haven made it desirable thus to increase its inhabitants. The report was at once accepted and approved by the town. Such an ardent patriot as Dr. Stiles dismisses the unpalatable theme with this curt entry in his diary: "This day town-meeting voted to re-admit the Tories."

The question of the treatment of the loyalists had for months previous been under heated discussion all over the Union; and not least in New Haven, where the argument was strongly urged that a sound commercial policy dictated the invitation hither of some of the numerous gentlemen of large property and influential connections in business, who had been dislodged from their homes and would gladly begin life anew among a congenial people. Attempts had been made to mould public opinion by newspaper appeals; and twice or thrice with special ingenuity by printing extracts from letters said to have been received from friends in Europe; one such, for instance, in the *Journal* of January 7, represented that Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay, now abroad for the negotiation of peace, were much hurt at the harsh measures adopted toward loyalists. By such means and by more direct arguments, the way was quietly prepared for a popular amnesty, which was thus voted in March, 1784, just a year after a former town-meeting, when the New Haven representatives were solemnly instructed by their constituents "to use their influence with the next General Assembly in an especial manner, to prevent the return of any of those miscreants who had deserted their country's cause and joined the enemies of this and the United States of America, during their late contest:"—a striking instance of rapid conversion.

I add before closing a reference to two peculiar provisions of the charter. It was enacted that the mayor's tenure of office should be "during the pleasure of the General Assembly," which was equivalent to a life appointment, and so proved in practice; for Mayor Sherman retained the position until his death in 1793, when Samuel Bishop succeeded, continuing till his death in 1803; the third incumbent, Elizur Goodrich, held office till his resignation in 1822, and his successor, George Hoadly, till his resignation in 1826, when by vote of the city a request was preferred to the Assembly, which resulted in the substitution of an annual election.

Another provision of the charter which needs comment is the proclamation that power is conferred on the city to exchange the upper part of the Green, west of the line of the churches, for other land, for highways, or another green elsewhere. I do not know that any exchange was ever proposed or attempted; but the insertion in the charter of express authority for the purpose, was perhaps meant to intimate that the city had the State government at its back in asserting authority over the public green, as against the claims preferred by the "Proprietors of Common and Undivided Lands in New Haven."[49]

The city government thus organized was immediately put into operation. The example was contagious; New London asked for and received a city charter at the same session of the legislature, and Hartford, Norwich, and Middletown, at the succeeding one. It was the era of upbuilding and of preparation,—they hardly knew for what; yet we may doubt if in their proudest dreams the citizens of 1784 anticipated the growth which has come to pass. Certainly we know that public sentiment had been incredulous, when Dr. Stiles in the last election sermon had announced it "probable that within a century from our independence the sun will shine on fifty millions of inhabitants in the United States." But the century has gone by; and the prophecy has very little exceeded the truth. We can at least learn the lesson, not to underrate the progress which is possible in the century to come, knowing that the present is as full of fruit and of promise as the past, and that the resistless tide of time which sweeps down individuals and generations in its "ceaseless current," only enlarges and deepens the hold of institutions which subserve useful ends and are wisely and justly administered.

[49] As an instance of these claims it may be mentioned that the location of the Fair Haven meeting-house (represented at present by the United Church) on the Green in 1770 was by a vote of the "Proprietors."

THE HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE NAMES OF HER TOWNS.

[From the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, for April, 1885.]

That is a sound and suggestive sentence of Dr. Johnson's in which he declares that "Life is surely given us for higher purposes than to gather what our ancestors have wisely thrown away, and to learn what is of no value but because it has been forgotten." But while this protest against fruitless antiquarianism may be justified, it is fair to remember that in every growing community actions and motives underlying them are thrown aside and apparently forgotten, which nevertheless bear good fruit and are worth recovering, when history comes to be written, for the light they cast on the methods and aims and daily surroundings of founders of States. In this spirit I desire to trace a few of the side-lights that fall on Connecticut history from the names given in successive generations to the incorporated townships of the State.

I admit at the outset that these names betray almost no trace of the greater outward events which have been acted on the soil, almost no trace of the political struggles and divisions which have agitated the community; the themes which they illustrate are rather the force of local attachments and of national pride, and the gradual expansion of an independent people from weakness to full strength.

We shall see, too, that this absence of political color is itself full of significance, bearing direct witness to that spirit of diplomatic caution and restraint which characterized throughout the colonial history of Connecticut,—especially if viewed in contrast with the elder colony of Massachusetts.

To illustrate my meaning by a single example;—there is no doubt that our earliest settlers, busily building new homes in the wilderness in the days of successful resistance to Charles I. and of parliamentary rule in England, sympathized to the full with the new order of things there; but we search in vain for any evidence of this sympathy in the names adopted for their new abodes, as they listened to the distant echo of those victories. Meantime, in

Massachusetts, the towns of Reading, and Hull, and Manchester, received their names in prompt commemoration of Parliamentary successes; and I take it that the omission of a like commemoration in Connecticut was studied, not accidental, and is expressive of a slightly different attitude from that of Massachusetts towards English authority. In the study of history the things left undone and unattempted are sometimes as instructive and as significant as the things actually done or aimed at.

But if we are not to look for any marked display of party feeling or reference to passing interests, in this connection, what other guiding principle remains to be discovered? The answer is easily anticipated, that the names with which the emigrants from Old England were familiar at home were the chief source of supply for the new localities; we should expect this to some extent; yet I doubt if we are prepared at first thought for the remarkable attachment shown in this method for the old home. Remember that only four or five years after 1637, when the General Assembly of Connecticut named its first batch of towns (Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield), emigration from Old England to New England came comparatively to a stand-still, in the near prospect of Puritan ascendency at home, and was not renewed to any considerable extent until within the last century;—and yet, for a hundred years following 1637, more than two-thirds of the names bestowed on the successive new townships and parishes in this colony were faithful reproductions of English originals.

Or, to extend the comparison to a longer period, it may well surprise us to find that out of almost exactly one hundred names given by public authority to prospective townships in this State, before the Declaration of Independence, at least fifty-seven were taken directly from British sources; if I have counted aright, seventeen of the remainder were owing to obvious peculiarities of natural location (as Waterbury, Middlefield), ten were mere variations or combinations of already existing names, usually by geographical adjuncts (as East Haddam, North Haven), eight were of Biblical origin, three were from names of Americans, founders or early settlers, two were borrowed from names in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and the remaining three can hardly be classified.

The comparative looseness of the tie binding Connecticut during all these years to the mother country is evidenced by the fact that for the same period in the two elder colonies of Virginia and Massachusetts, the proportion of place-names from English sources was far greater than with us.

The general conclusions may be made more clear by taking instances in detail, and for this purpose the history may be separated into a few well-marked periods.

And first, it is enough to mention the fact that in the earliest period, that extending down to 1665, there were two entirely distinct colonies existing within the territory of the present State of Connecticut.

The elder, a direct outgrowth from the colony of Massachusetts Bay, had migrated in three bands (which live before us to this day in the three vines on the seal of the State) to the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, in the Connecticut Valley. It had borrowed from that valley the musical Indian name of Connecticut, which means "beside the long tidal river," and forming a combination with the fort planted at the river's mouth, Saybrook, by the agent of some London proprietors, had increased at the date mentioned, 1665, to a dozen plantations (of which Hartford was the capital), most of them still on or near the river, but others (Norwalk, Fairfield, Stratford, New London) ranging in either direction along the line of the Sound. Moreover a few less organized settlements beyond these, towards New York, and a larger number on the Long Island shore, had owed allegiance to Connecticut. As a whole, the colony was of pure English blood, homogeneous therefore, thrifty, orderly, and religious, not so much under the control of a few autocratic leaders as its model, Massachusetts Bay, but exhibiting a more simple democracy, with a nearer resemblance in some essential points to the modern spirit than we find in either of its chief contemporaries.

The second of the two colonies within the present State limits had its centre at, and took its name from New Haven, its first town, in time, in numbers, and importance; it embraced also the neighboring Guilford, Branford and Milford, together with Stamford and Greenwich (separated from the rest by some of the Connecticut settlers), and last of all, Southold on the opposite Long Island shore. This colony, though organized by men of high religious character and of abundant pecuniary resources, had been unfortunate in all its history. Unfortunate at first in the time of its beginning, transplanted at a date when the hope of Puritan England was all on this side the Atlantic, but scarcely set in operation when the turn of public affairs at home concentrated on that side the water all the Puritan interest, New Haven especially suffered from this withdrawal of expected immigration and capital, while Massachusetts Bay, already firmly rooted by ten years of unprecedented growth, and Hartford colony, its healthy offshoot, were better

equipped for meeting such a crisis. Later on, disastrous commercial ventures, embroilment with their Dutch neighbors, and a certain uncompromising rigidity of Puritanism, which reached its culmination here, and which after the Restoration challenged inevitably the interference of the English government,—these and kindred incidents marked the feeble colony for early extinction.

A reference to the map for the location of each, will show, perhaps more clearly than any explanation of their different development, how predestined was the absorption of the younger and weaker colony by the elder and stronger one at Hartford. Meantime, however, each had its quarter of a century and more of separate growth, in which New Haven stood sponsor to seven future townships, and Connecticut to twelve;—the population and the wealth of the two sections being about in the same ratio.

But it is time to return from this digression to individual cases of town-names in these first groups.

The name of New Haven itself may be thought to present as much difficulty as any other of the entire list, for the theory of an English origin is hardly in this case satisfactory. So far as we can tell, none of the prominent inhabitants of 1640 (when the name was given) had come from the little fishing village of the same name, and the only one in England, just rising into notice as a convenient harbor on the coast of Sussex, though now familiar enough to modern travelers as the terminus of a line of Channel steamers. Sussex contributed but few to the New England emigration, and we are not sure that even a single one of the first comers to this town was of the Sussex quota. The fact remains, that the plantation after being called for two and a half years from the arrival of the main body of settlers by its Indian name Quinnipiac ("long-water-country"), received in September, 1640, the name New Haven by an order of the General Court. The fact is also preserved—in a letter of John Davenport's, written in 1639, on the first coming of a ship direct from England—that the ship's captain was so well pleased with the harbor, that he called it the Fair Haven, but there is no clear connection between this incident and the essentially different name occurring over a year later. For this name, I know of no better reason to give, than the obvious reason, namely, the inherent fitness of the name as a descriptive one, a *New Haven,* like the reason which induced the settlers on Rhode Island a year earlier to adopt the name of Newport.

Apparently the two adjoining settlements had, before the name New Haven came into use, begun to be called Guilford and Milford; —the former, it is supposed, from Guildford, in Surrey, in the

neighborhood of the former parish of Henry Whitfield, the first Guilford minister, and the latter more perhaps because the first *mill* of the region was already built there, at a convenient *ford,* than in reminiscence of any of the numerous Milfords in the old country; if, however, one of those familiar Milfords was thought of, it was most likely Milford Haven, the prominent seaport of south-western Wales, abreast of the entrance to Bristol Channel, and so the last harbor which emigrants direct from Herefordshire, as our Milford people mainly were, would have taken leave of, as they sailed out into the West.

Of the other plantations of this colony, Greenwich no doubt borrowed its name from that of the royal residence on the Thames, and Stamford was a namesake of the ancient town on the borders of Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire, while the musical Indian form Totoket (the last syllables of which are the same with those in the name of the Connecticut), after holding its own for ten years or more, was finally replaced by Branford, the popular corruption of Brentford, a London suburb on the Thames opposite Kew. Southold, the one plantation on Long Island which came under our jurisdiction, was a name common enough in England, and perhaps chosen here partly for geographical reasons. This exhausts the roll of the New Haven Colony, but we find the same rule of English names in the Connecticut territory.

There the list is headed by Hartford, commemorating the charming old town of Hertford, twenty miles due north from London, the birthplace of Samuel Stone, one of the two ministers of the new settlement. At the same time were named Windsor and Wethersfield,—the one evidently from the famous site of the customary residence of the sovereigns of England, and the other as evidently from the little town of the same name in the county of Essex.

To these were next added Stratford, a name like Greenwich and Branford, in reminiscence of a familiar suburb of London, Stratford-at-Bow, and Saybrook, in which is comprehended a fuller chapter of Connecticut history than in any other single name we shall meet. It takes us back to 1632, before the emigration to Hartford and Windsor, and recalls the formation in that year of a company in England for developing the rich valley of the Connecticut. Of this company the foremost members were two of the most prominent among the Puritan nobility,—Viscount Say and Sele, and Baron Brooke,—with whom were joined Lord Rich, the heir of the powerful Earl of Warwick, and such commoners as Pym, and Hampden, and Humfrey, a son-in-law of the Earl of Lincoln. These lords and gentlemen intended presently to transport a supply

of Puritan colonists to the unsettled territory, but on finding volunteer colonization, of such stuff and with such motives as met their approval, begun in Hartford and the neighborhood, they willingly waived their contingent rights, for a large pecuniary consideration, and so it happens that the name of Say-Brook, given in honor of the two chief promoters of the company, Lords Say and Brooke, to the fort erected by their order at the mouth of the river, is now the company's only memorial.

An era of manifestly descriptive names was introduced in 1645, when a new town made out of the farms in the back country belonging to Hartford people, was called Farmington; so Fair-field was named the next year, and so Middle-Town in 1653, as the earliest connecting link between Saybrook and the up-river settlements. Norwalk, in 1650, has usually been associated with these, by being said to commemorate a purchase from the natives of territory measured by one day's *North-walk* from the Sound, but the orthography used in the early appearances of the name does not favor this explanation, and common sense rejects it; it is almost certainly Indian, modified by English lips.

In 1653 the oldest plantation east of the Connecticut river, in which Governor Winthrop was the chief inhabitant, known hitherto by its Indian name of Pequot, received the name of New London,—the Governor improving the occasion to spread upon the records the reason for the change under the "commendable practice of all the Colonies of these parts, that as this Country hath its denomination from our dear native Country of England, and thence is called New England, so the planters, in their first settling of most new plantations, have given names to those plantations of some cities and towns in England, thereby intending to keep up and leave to posterity the memorial of several places of note there, as Boston, Hartford, Windsor," &c.; and so New London supplanted Pequot, the one name which would have fitly handed down the remembrance of the Pequot tribe and the Pequot war, the greatest tragedy enacted on Connecticut soil under European domination.

By the same rule, a few months later, when another plantation was laid out to the northward of New London, it took the name of "Norridge," that particular name being perhaps suggested by the geographical position of the new settlement, it being much the same in relation to the other as the original Norwich to the original London; it is not ascertained that any of the early inhabitants were from Norwich in Old England.

One more locality in the colony had received a permanent name before the close of this period, though not erected into a town for

more than a century later; I refer to Meriden which was settled and named as early as 1664 by Andrew Belcher, of Boston, whose family came originally from Meriden or Miriden, a little village near Coventry, in Warwickshire, which was so named in accurate description of its location, that is, in a *miry dene,* dene being old English for valley.

This ends our survey of the ante-union period, except for notice of the fact that Rye, on the debatable border between the Colony of Connecticut and the Province of New York, was named by the former authority from the English port of that name in Sussex. Of course some other places, also, not yet fully settled, were already locally known by various names which did not prove permanent; such for instance was Mystic, in the territory east of New London, which Massachusetts had pretended to annex, calling it Southertown, which later grew into the modern Stonington.

We come next to the consolidation of the two separate colonies into one, and though it be two hundred and twenty years ago, New Haven has not even yet forgotten the dismay with which she learned in 1662 that the restored King had granted a charter to the Hartford people, putting under their authority all the territory which they could get hold of, from the Rhode Island boundary westward to the Pacific. In the beginning the New Haven government had scrupulously bought out the Indian title to their lands, but had failed of securing a confirmation of this title by a grant from the authority of England, which claimed the sovereign right to the disposal of all the Atlantic coast by virtue of discovery. The unequal struggle of the two colonies could have but one termination. Connecticut had acquired a legal title to the New Haven lands, superior, that is to say, in the eye of English law, to that of the planters themselves. If these planters should decline to submit to her, she might not indeed coerce them, but they were without friends at court, and it was broadly threatened that nothing could in that case avert a still greater evil,—annexation to New York, whose proprietor would not hesitate to establish his authority by force of arms;—and so, after three years of impotent delay, Connecticut found herself acknowledged mistress of all the territory since known as hers.

In explanation of the reluctance with which the older public men of New Haven accepted the issue, it should be said that it meant to them not merely the disappearance of a separate experiment of government, of which they had had control, and the entering of other men into their labors, but much more, the humiliation of a colony which had been founded in church fellowship, and which had aimed at a specially high religious standard in its laws and disci-

pline, and had exhibited the purest ideal of union of church and state, henceforth to be a subordinate portion of another colony, certainly never so strict in profession,—for instance not exacting *any* religious qualifications of its voters,—and just now, in particular, thought too complaisant in its attitude towards the English throne. But the apprehension was worse than the reality. In fact, the second era of our history stretches through a vista of comfortable prosperity from this union to the severance from England in 1776. With a charter from the King which secured to her people the entire control of the government, Connecticut was complete within herself, and without motive for interest or intrigue beyond her own domain. The effect was, that she prudently kept in the background the subject of relations with the mother-country, and was practically independent of England, long before the other colonies had reached the point of desiring separation.

The same principles, however, in the choice of names for newly gathered communities continued to hold. But naturally, the further we are from the source of the stream, the harder it will be to trace its descent; it is still possible, nevertheless, to show that the majority of these names repeated to a new generation those which were familiar to their ancestors in the old country. I may not delay for more than a few of the specially striking examples. But I may point out, for instance, that it adds to the interest with which we pass the name of *Killingworth,* to remember that Edward Griswold, a pioneer of Englishmen on that ground, was born in Kenilworth, in Warwickshire, and that the form of the name which we use (though a complete disguise of the original meaning, a manor by the *canal* or ditch) is still the familiar corruption among the peasants of the English neighborhood. The original petition for a town, in 1667, preserved in the State Library, in the handwriting of the minister of the parish, John Woodbridge, spells the name "Kenelmeworth." It is a pity, by the way, that by the modern regulations in this State for the division of towns, the name Killingworth, after having served for one hundred and seventy years to designate the original settlement on the shore of the Sound, had to be transferred,—when that part of the town petitioned for a division,—to a remote back country parish, while the continuity of history was broken by attaching to a locality so long associated with the early English emigration, the bran-new name of Clinton.

Like these Griswolds in Killingworth, many other of our historic houses have recorded indelibly on the map of Connecticut their English origin. Thus the estates which the family of John Haynes, the first Governor of Connecticut, owned at Great Hadham in Hert-

fordshire, suggested a name for our Haddam. Thus, again, Groton was named during the governorship of FitzJohn Winthrop, out of respect to the Suffolk country-seat of his distinguished family, and not at all unlikely is it that Colchester, the first town to be named after his accession to the chief magistracy, owed its appellation to the fact that the English Colchester is the nearest town of any considerable size to Groton. Tradition adds that he gave its name to Canterbury also, near the same date, in honor of the great cathedral city of eastern England.

Similarly, when Governor Winthrop was succeeded by Governor Saltonstall, it was only natural that the manor of Killingly, near Pontefract, in Yorkshire, owned by the Saltonstall family, should be honored in the name of a new town, and that Pontefract itself should also be reproduced, in the colloquial form of Pomfret. Possibly also Bolton, named during the same term of office, may have been a reminiscence of Bolton Abbey, one of the famous sights of the same English neighborhood.

So, again, tradition reports that Durham in England was the home of the Wadsworth family, and that thus their prominent share in the settlement of our Durham suggested its name.

So, too, Tolland and Willington commemorate two Somersetshire villages, in one of which was born and in the other lived that Henry Wolcott who came to America in 1630, and whose grandson, Governor Roger Wolcott, was the chief patentee almost a century later of these two new towns in Tolland County. It may be mentioned that the orthography in the case of the younger of these towns was at first usually Wellington, as was that of its English prototype, which has the honor of having given a title to the conqueror of Waterloo.

Once more, the Ripley family was among a company of emigrants from Hingham, in Norfolk, who originally settled the town of Hingham, in Massachusetts Bay, and when descendants bearing the same family name pushed out into the Connecticut wilderness and founded a new town, naturally they chose for it the name of Windham, dear to their fathers' ears as the customary pronunciation of Wymondham, the largest place within the immediate vicinity of Old Hingham, on the eastern coast of England.

These may suffice as examples, but we run little risk in saying that it is only our ignorance of family history among the first comers that stands in the way of our finding similar reasons for the reappearance here of such obscure English village names as Simondsbury, colloquially Simsbury, in Dorsetshire, Danbury in Essex, Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, the birthplace of the poet Cowper, and

Torrington and Hartland in Devonshire,—though possibly this last may be descriptive of land colonized from Hartford.

Of less value as indicating directions in which the future genealogist may work, yet not perhaps altogether without promise, are the names of larger English towns or cities which we have copied, such as Lyme[50] and Wallingford, Preston and Derby, Glastonbury, Stafford and Wilton, Litchfield and Coventry, Chester and Winchester.

In some of the later instances in which a well-known English name is conferred on a remote country parish,—as for instance when the inaccessible hill district in New Haven County was called Oxford, in 1741,—it is idle to conclude either that there was a family tradition connecting the localities, or that there was hope of a career which should recall the lustre of the English exemplar. The selection merely testifies to a natural recurrence on the part of descendants, proud of the heritage of English glory, to the names which filled so large a share of English history. Occasionally a sentimental reason has been assigned for the choice. Thus Newington parish (afterwards made a town) is said to have been named in 1718, out of respect to the residence in Stoke-Newington, a London suburb, of the excellent Dr. Watts, whose hymns, first published eleven years before, had already begun to be known and admired in America; but this explanation is not free from difficulties.

And thus Chatham is said, in 1767, to have been named in fond anticipation that its future shipyards might rival in importance the Royal Dockyard of Chatham, in Kent; at the same time it is fair to suppose that the authorities could read in this case between the lines, and allow a special fitness in the name, at a time when William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was the popular hero of America, because of his stand against the alleged right of Parliament to tax the colonies. That this sentiment might have inspired the name is suggested also by the petition received in the next year for a town in Windham County, to be called Wilkes-Barre, by a combination of the names of two other outspoken English friends of American liberty. The petition, as it happened, was refused, though probably not on account of the name proposed; but emigrants from the same region of Windham County, within a few years from this date, who engaged in the wild crusade for the possession of the Wyoming Valley, in northeastern Pennsylvania, planted there a living memorial of the incident, by naming in 1775 the still flourishing town of Wilkes-Barre.

[50] From Lyme, in Cheshire, the ancestral home of the Lees?

Sometimes, as in connection with the apportionment into new townships of the further part of Litchfield County, in 1738,—the last section of the State to be laid out and settled,—the names of larger divisions of the old country, as Norfolk, Kent, and Cornwall, were made use of; so, earlier, we have the infelicitous application of Cheshire (that is Chester-shire, the County of Chester) to a country village; and even of Scotland to one of the least populous towns in the State, so named about 1700 by its earliest inhabitant, a Scotchman by birth; so, too, in 1754, in one of the latest efforts of vanishing loyalty, the parish of *New Britain* was ambitiously set off from Farmington. This leads to the remark that expressions of loyalty to the British Crown and of compliment to the British Court, in the shape of names of places, were in Connecticut conspicuous by their absence. No one need ask for clearer testimony to the main facts of the Colony's relations to England than is furnished by the silent witness of her town-roll; and the lesson may be pointed by contrast with Massachusetts, with which comparison is natural, because of the apparent similarity in forms of government. Yet how great was the actual difference, and how really was that Colony controlled under its second charter by the mother country, let this fact show,—that of the names of towns given in Massachusetts in just the half-century before the Revolution, at least forty per cent. are distinctly derived from the names or titles or residences of members of the royal family or courtiers and placemen. So that this portion of the roll of Massachusetts townships[51] reads somewhat like a leaf out of the peerage, with its Hanover, Lunenburg, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Halifax, Pelham, Hardwick, Granville, Chesterfield, Shelburne, and so on; while by way of counterpart, Connecticut has absolutely nothing to show, unless it be the single instance of Somers, a town originally named by Massachusetts, and later transferred to this Colony in the straightening of the boundary line. Perhaps I ought also to state that in 1761 a new parish formed out of Norwich, by the General Court, was called Hanover, possibly a tribute of respect to the reigning house; Hanover Parish, however, never gave name to a town.

The mention of Somers reminds me that there was little worship of heroes, whether native or foreign, in the New Englander of that day if left to himself, least of all in Connecticut, which had

[51] See Mr. W. H. Whitmore's elaborate paper on the "Origin of the Names of Towns in Massachusetts," in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for February, 1873, pp. 393-419.

been sharply distinguished from the mother colony of Massachusetts Bay in its earliest years by its democratic equality and the comparative absence of a group of leaders with high family connections at home.

Naturally then, we find here no conspicuous attempts, as in Baltimore and New York and Albany, to preserve the fame of titled owners; nor any Jamestown, nor Charleston, nor Annapolis, in honor of reigning princes; just as the colony itself did not draw its name from the person or the position of its proprietors, as did Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire; nor like Virginia and Carolina, Maryland and Georgia, from royal godfathers and godmothers.

It was natural enough, however, that in a simpler way the zeal of individuals in opening up unbroken tracts of land should be emphasized, as when the new town of Mansfield was named in 1702 in honor of Major Moses Mansfield, one of its largest proprietors. So Reading Parish in 1729 got its name from Col. John Read, the principal settler, though local tradition now asserts that by the time a town charter was applied for, thirty-eight years later, the unpopularity of Col. Read was such that the people voted distinctly that the name to be asked for should be, not Reading but Redding. Thompson in 1730 was named from an early English landholder, Sir Robert Thompson, a devoted friend of the colonies, whose family owned a good part of the township until after 1800. Ellington Parish, though the name is common in Old England, is said to have been so called, in 1735, in allusion to the Ellsworth family, as among the principal owners of the district.

The question may be asked here whether the English towns which were the originals of our town names, group themselves in such a way upon the map as to throw any light on the general question of the distribution of emigrations from England to Connecticut. In other words, do these inquiries help us to know from what parts of England Connecticut was peopled? It may be said in reply that the conclusions to be drawn from these data all tend to corroborate the existing information as to Connecticut stock. What this stock usually was, the experience of the nucleus of the New Haven Colony well illustrates: the first settlers in the town of New Haven represented at least three distinct neighborhoods,—one part from London, one from Kent, and one from Yorkshire,—the last colonizing in the quarter which our modern "York Street" marks. Guilford was mainly settled from Surrey and Kent, and Milford from Herefordshire in the west. Here we have then a mingling of streams, from the metropolis, the south-eastern counties, the distant

north-east, and the western midland; and this partial view is typical of the whole. In populating Connecticut, not only London and the eastern counties, but in less degree the south-west, the midland, the north-east, all bore their part, and all contributed their fair share to our treasury of town names.

I pass on to other classes of names in the same pre-Revolutionary period. Those suggested by natural peculiarities of soil or landscape need detain us but a moment. Occasionally, as in Roxbury or Brooklyn, the spelling may slightly disguise the original form, but in general such descriptive terms as Stonington and Ashford, Woodbury and Waterbury, Plainfield, Ridgefield, and Rocky Hill, all of which are names originating in New England, are self-explanatory. Brooklyn was of course at first Brook-line and has nothing whatever in common with the pretty Dutch village of Breuckelen, near Utrecht, which gave its name, meaning "marsh-land," to the City of Churches, opposite New York.

Among our descriptive names is Suffield, which Connecticut acquired from Massachusetts in 1749, with Woodstock, Enfield, and Somers, by the straightening of boundary lines, and which was originally named in 1674 Southfield, with geographical reference to Springfield, as Westfield was, it being, as the record of the Massachusetts General Court runs, "the southernmost town that either at present is or is like to be in that country." Enfield, its neighbor on the east, founded nine years later, seems, however, to have had its name from the English Enfield, a northern suburb of London, and not from its being the "End" of this group of "Field" towns. In general the scrutiny of these descriptive appellations should make us well content that this was not the favorite principle under which the colony was developed; it is not decrying the fathers of Connecticut to admit that they lacked the graceful, active imagination which has brought such a system to perfection among other peoples of a warmer blood.

Again, the derivatives from names already existing in the Colony present no difficulty. It should be noted, however, that this class of names affords disappointingly little insight into the movements of population; only three towns, two in Litchfield County and one in Fairfield County, bear names which certainly indicate such sources of colonization, New Milford, settled from Milford in 1703, New Fairfield (1728), and New Hartford (1733); besides these, the town of Salem, in New London County, was so called out of respect to Col. Samuel Brown, of Salem, Mass., a great landholder in the parish when it was named in 1728; and the town of Andover, in Tolland County, is said to have received its name in 1747, in com-

pliment to the emigration of some of its early inhabitants from Andover in Massachusetts. There are also a number of derivatives which merely indicate the geographical partition of a formerly undivided territory; the earliest of these is East Haven, set off in 1707, but long before known as a village by the same name. The composite name of Harwinton was given in 1732 to a new township formed by settlers from Hartford, Windsor and Farmington, each name contributing a syllable to the new designation. Many *parish* names have at different times been similarly constructed, though none of these parishes have attained the rank of separate towns; thus Hadlyme, carved out of Haddam and Lyme, Winsted, from Winchester and Barkhamsted, and Stratfield, the parish between Stratford and Fairfield, which later took the natural name of Bridgeport.

Another distinct class is that of Biblical names, introduced by Lebanon, which was in use as early as 1695, before town privileges were applied for. It may be doubted whether there was any attempt in these at special etymological or historical adaptation, though Lebanon may have a cedar swamp, Goshen may be good pasture land, and Sharon abound in rich verdure. Between 1697 and 1762, and chiefly towards the later date, Connecticut named in this manner eight of her towns, besides several parts of towns or parishes. The fact accords with a certain devoutness of temperament and familiar recourse to Scripture, not out of place in a generation which was stirred to its depths by the revival preaching of Edwards and Whitefield. In most of these cases it is clear that the names did not originate with the residents of the districts, but with the General Assembly or other officials. It is a curious fact that Massachusetts, which we are wont to think of as the ideal Puritan Colony, shows in her entire history but three Biblical names in her list of towns; Salem in 1630, Rehoboth (in Plymouth Colony) in 1645, and Sharon in 1765.

Under the classes now enumerated are included all the names given down to the Revolution, save two exceptional cases, Voluntown, a unique name manufactured in 1708 to denote the land granted by the Colony to the volunteer soldiers of New London County, who had taken such effective part in Philip's war and in the consequent conquest of the Narragansett Indians; and Union, so named in 1732. For the latter name I have no explanation to offer, unless it is to be interpreted by comparison with the names given within a dozen years earlier and later to the various parishes of Unity, New Concord, and Amity, which never became town names. I conjecture that in all these cases there lurks a reference to a

combination of disconnected families of immigrants for a common purpose of settlement.

With the outbreak of the Revolution, we enter on a new period in the treatment of town nomenclature, and if we lose the controlling English influence, it is to substitute in a slightly less emphatic degree an American standard. One-third the names given in this period are descriptive of situation or derivatives from existing names, and an equal portion were given in honor of Americans either nationally or locally renowned. Names taken from English localities are not wholly wanting. Bristol, Hampton, and Essex may perhaps be such; Manchester and Portland certainly are so, with a clear reference to the trade in Manchester cottons and silks, and in Portland stone, as reproduced in the new world; a similar principle prompted the name of the borough of Birmingham. Berlin, Lisbon, Canton and Darien among towns, and Baltic and Hamburg among parishes, are witnesses to the widening of the horizon by foreign travel and commercial ventures. The names of Hamden, assigned by the Assembly in place of Mount Carmel, in 1786, and Cromwell, of so late a date as 1851, were evidently borrowed from the annals of the English revolution of 1640; so Orange, in 1822, was distinctly given in honor of the hero of the revolution of 1689. The same spirit which dictated these selections, exulting in the triumphs of the Revolution, gave us the towns of Washington in 1779, of Franklin and Warren in 1786, of Columbia in 1804, of Vernon (from Mount Vernon) in 1808, and of Putnam in 1855. A kindred spirit, that which does honor to the leading official characters of the nation, gave us Monroe in 1823, during President Monroe's administration; while the next town to be incorporated, three years later, bore the name of Madison. Strangely enough, in the light of the political history of the State, these were not accompanied by any like tribute to the greater leader of the party dear to Connecticut, President Jefferson. With respect for the great men of the nation, there is sure to be fostered also respect for the eminent men of the individual State; and our roll worthily commemorates such statesmen as Sherman, and such Governors as Trumbull and Griswold and Huntington and Wolcott and Seymour. A number of towns, as might be expected, preserve the names of local celebrities. Such are Woodbridge and Brookfield, named from their first ministers, Benjamin Woodbridge and Thomas Brooks; Sterling, from a temporary resident, Dr. John Sterling, who made in 1794 an offer, never fulfilled, to give a public library, if he might be thus commemorated; Chaplin, from Deacon Benjamin Chaplin, who endowed the church in that parish; Ledyard, from a former proprietor of the

district, and from the noted traveller, John Ledyard, a native of the soil; Morris, from the well-known Litchfield family of that name; and Sprague and Thomaston, from the capitalists who developed the manufacturing resources of those communities.

We are limiting our inquiry to incorporated towns; as every one sees, however, the parishes or boroughs in Connecticut have often eclipsed in importance and repute the towns proper in which they are found. And of course a large number of these local business centres of modern growth hand down the names of the men or the families who have promoted them; thus we have Ansonia, from Anson G. Phelps of New York, Jewett City, Collinsville, Plantsville, Danielsonville, and so on.

The habit of naming from points of natural scenery and from geographical relation to other places has continued during the post-Revolutionary period, giving a large number of appellations, as a rule not at all interesting. There are a few graphic exceptions, such as Prospect and Bloomfield. Fortunately the list is disfigured by only one hybrid compound, that is, only one in which the several parts are evidently taken from different languages; the exception, and that as recent as 1869, is Plainville, heretofore locally known as the Great Plain. The single other instance in which this termination appears is in Montville, where both parts are French, and where the meaning, "hill-residence," not only describes appropriately the elevated situation, but has a covert reference to the family name of the first pastor of the flock, the Rev. James *Hillhouse,* a name made memorable to New Haven also, through a line of his descendants.

Under date of 1844 appears the only Indian name besides Norwalk borne by a Connecticut town, that of Naugatuck. We do well to regret that so many of the euphonious syllables which preceded all names of our choosing on this soil have been thought unworthy of formal adoption; the only recompense must lie in their retention to mark lesser local divisions, some of which are as familiarly known as any towns; so we have Willimantic, Mystic, Niantic, Montowese, CosCob and a long catalogue of others. In this matter of esteem for Indian terminology, Connecticut showed herself less conservative than any other of the colonies; to recur to Massachusetts for comparison, there Scituate in the Plymouth Colony was the sole example until 1762; then before the Revolution we find Natick, Marshpee, and Cohasset, reinforced in later times by half a dozen more.

In the entire Connecticut list there is no name derived from classical literature; the pervading influence of the College did not

encourage any such affectations as have disfigured, for instance, central New York, with its Ovid and Tully, its Marathon and Pharsalia, its Delphi and Tyre, its Romulus and Pompey, and a host of others.

There are only two names in our list which allow any suspicion of a sentimental origin; these are Union, already mentioned, and Avon, named in 1830 by some admirer of the bard of Avon. It is a proof perhaps of the more sober and prosaic nature of Connecticut pioneers, that they did not emulate Roger Williams in that sublime touch of religious sentiment in which he gave his city of refuge the name of Providence; a generation, however, which coined or adopted the beautiful name of Fairfield cannot have been wholly wanting in the poetic sense.

I may add a word as to the relative responsibility of the town itself and the Colony authorities for the names actually given. In earlier times the evidence goes to show that the preferences of the settlers in a new place had the controlling influence, while for the later Colonial period the central power had much more to do with determining the selection. Yet there were exceptions enough to point a striking contrast to the experience of Massachusetts. There, after the original charter was set aside, in 1684, the *colony* became a *province* in the full sense of the original distinction of those words; the volunteer settlement became a conquered outpost of England, and a race of royal governors left their broad mark on the vanquished territory in a monotonous series of derivatives from courtiers and politicians, to which, as I have said before, Connecticut, with her governors always chosen by popular election, has no parallel. In the ordinary run of cases, probably, the choice of a name was left to the governor. When the inhabitants, as rarely happened after the earliest years, expressed a preference, it was usually respected. Occasionally, however, just often enough to keep alive the knowledge of their right to do so, the authorities exercised even in such cases the power of decision. Thus, in 1687, the primitive settlers of what we know as Danbury petitioned for town-privileges, requesting the name of Swampfield, and perhaps it may be thought to imply an Essex origin for the family of the then Governor, Robert Treat, that in rejecting as he did the prosaic compound which the people asked for, he substituted a village name familiar to none but an Essex man, though full of suggestion to him of Dane-bury, the ancient encampment of the Danish invader in that shire of eastern England. Again, a generation later, in 1720, when a petition came in from the scattered farmers of what had been locally known, sometimes as Hartford Mountains, some-

times as Hanover, that they should be set off as a town and called Hanover, the Assembly, or more properly Governor Saltonstall himself, discarded the proposed name, which might well have seemed like an obtrusive attempt to profess allegiance to the house lately seated on the British throne, and assigned instead the colorless name of Bolton. The incident is quite in keeping with the favorite attitude of Connecticut towards the mother country, putting in the background as much as possible the relation between them. Another instance of these interferences with the avowed will of the petitioning inhabitants, is in the case of a part of Norwich, which in 1786 sent a request to be made into a town by the name of Bath, but Bozrah was preferred by the Assembly. The floating tradition, which I give for what it is worth, is that the change was in consequence of some one's observing the particolored homespun suit worn by the rustic messenger who offered the petition, and flippantly reciting the solemn apostrophe of the Hebrew prophet: "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?" Whether the explanation is correct or not, certain it is that the name originally presented was stricken out and another conferred, at a time when Biblical names had ceased to be the fashion for such purposes in Connecticut, and one which has so little to commend it that it is one of the few of our town names which remain unique, not duplicated in the list of any of the newer States.

It would require a closer study of the currents of population for the last fourscore years than I have been able to give, to show exhaustively how the dispersion of the sons of Connecticut has dotted the wide continent with the old town-names and with others derived from honored families of the State. Not only on the Western Reserve in Ohio do Norwalk and Saybrook, New London and New Haven, Lyme and Danbury, Cleveland and Painesville, Canfield and Tallmadge, and a multitude of other names, hand down the record of the first peopling of that region as "New Connecticut." Later emigrations to further distances have kept repeating the same process, and just as the forefathers made old Connecticut a guidebook to those English hamlets which they held in brightest remembrance, so the descendants, inheriting their enterprise as pioneers, have made of new homes all over the west and south-west speaking memorials of the State of their birth; and herein, though it be in a sense which no prophet or statesman foresaw, is fulfilled the bold promise of the charter which his gracious majesty King Charles II. magnificently, if ignorantly, gave in 1662, providing that his loyal Colony of Connecticut should run for the future from the Narragansett river on the east, westward—westward still, across the continent to the Pacific Sea!

APPENDIX.

A list is subjoined of the 167 incorporated towns in Connecticut, chronologically arranged according to the dates of the first use of their names, so far as the present writer is informed. The supposed origin of the names is indicated in parentheses, or by figures, with the following meaning:—1, from localities in England and other foreign countries; 2, from personal names; 3, from other American localities, especially in Connecticut; 4, from peculiarities of natural situation; 5, from the Bible.

1637, Hartford, 1.
1637, Wethersfield, 1.
1637, Windsor, 1.
1639, Saybrook, 2.
1639, Milford, 4 or 1.
1639, Guilford, 1.
1640, New Haven, 4.
1640, Greenwich, 1.
1642, Stamford, 1.
1643, Stratford, 1.
1645, Farmington, 4.
1646, Fairfield, 4.
1650, Norwalk (Indian).
1653, Branford, 1.
1653, Middletown, 4.
1658, New London, 1.
1659, Norwich, 1.
1664, Meriden, 1.
1666, Stonington, 4.
1667, Killingworth, 1.
1667, Lyme, 1.
1668, Haddam, 1.
1670, Wallingford, 1.
1670, Simsbury, 1.
1674, Suffield, 4.
1674, Woodbury, 4.
1675, Derby, 1.
1683, Enfield, 1.
1686, Waterbury, 4.
1687, Preston, 1.
1687, Danbury, 1.
1690, Woodstock, 1.
1691, Windham, 1.
1692, Glastonbury, 1.
1695, Lebanon, 5.
1699, Colchester, 1.
1700, Plainfield, 4.
1702, Mansfield, 2.
1703, Canterbury, 1.
1703, New Milford, 3.
1704, Durham, 1.
1705, Groton, 1.
1706, Scotland, 1.
1707, East Haven, 3.
1707, Hebron, 5.
1708, Voluntown (see p. 146).
1708, Newtown, 1. (?)
1708, Killingly, 1.
1709, Ridgefield, 4.
1710, Ashford, 4.
1711, Coventry, 1.
1713, Pomfret, 1.
1715, Tolland, 1.
1718, East Haddam, 3.
1718, Stafford, 1.
1718, Newington, 1.
1718, Rocky Hill, 4.
1719, Litchfield, 1.
1720, Bolton, 1.
1724, North Stonington, 3.
1724, Cheshire, 1.
1725, Willington, 1.
1726, Wilton, 1.
1726, Southington, 4.
1726, [New] Salem, 3.
1728, New Fairfield, 3.
1729, Redding, 2.
1730, Thompson, 2.
1731, Southbury, 3.
1731, New Canaan, 5.
1732, Torrington, 1.
1732, Barkhamsted, 1.
1732, Colebrook, 1.
1732, Harwinton, 3.

1732, Union (see p. 146).
1733, Hartland, 1 or 3.
1733, Winchester, 1.
1733, New Hartford, 3.
1734, Somers, 2.
1735, Ellington, 2. (?)
1738, Norfolk, 1.
1738, Goshen, 5.
1738, Canaan, 5.
1738, Cornwall, 1.
1738, Kent, 1.
1738, Salisbury, 2.
1739, North Haven, 3.
1739, Bethlehem, 5.
1739, Sharon, 5.
1740, Chester, 1.
1741, Oxford, 1.
1743, Roxbury, 4.
1744, Middlefield, 4.
1747, Andover, 3.
1747, Marlborough, 1 or 2.
1752, Brooklyn, 4.
1754, New Britain, 1.
1759, Bethel, 5.
1762, Bethany, 5.
1767, Chatham, 1 or 2.
1768, East Windsor, 3.
1768, North Branford, 3.
1768, East Hartford, 3.
1777, Eastford, 3.
1779, Washington, 2.
1780, Watertown, 4.
1784, Woodbridge, 2.
1785, Berlin, 1.
1785, Bristol, 1. (?)
1786, Bozrah, 5.
1786, Franklin, 2.
1786, Hamden, 2.
1786, Lisbon, 1.
1786, Warren, 2.
1786, Granby, 3. (?)
1786, Hampton, 1 or 3.
1786, Montville, 4 and 2.
1787, Weston, 4.
1788, Brookfield, 2.
1789, Huntington, 2.
1790, Middlebury, 4.
1794, Sterling, 2.
1795, Plymouth, 3.
1796, Wolcott, 2.
1797, Trumbull, 2.
1800, Bridgeport, 4.
1801, Waterford, 4.
1802, Sherman, 2.
1803, Bridgewater, 4.
1804, Columbia, 2.
1806, Burlington, 3. (?)
1806, Canton, 1.
1806, West Hartford, 3.
1808, Vernon, 3.
1809, Chaplin, 2.
1810, Westbrook, 3.
1813, North Canaan, 3.
1815, Griswold, 2.
1816, East Lyme, 3.
1820, Darien, 3.
1820, Essex, 4.
1822, East Granby, 3.
1822, Orange, 2.
1823, Manchester, 1.
1823, Monroe, 2.
1826, Madison, 2.
1827, Prospect, 4.
1830, Avon, 1.
1831, Plainville, 4.
1833, Windsor Locks, 3.
1835, Bloomfield, 3 or 4.
1835, Westport, 4.
1836, Ledyard, 2.
1838, Clinton, 2 or 3.
1841, Portland, 1.
1844, Naugatuck (Indian).
1845, Easton, 3.
1845, South Windsor, 3.
1850, Seymour, 2.
1851, Cromwell, 2.
1852, Old Saybrook, 3.
1855, Old Lyme, 3.
1855, Putnam, 2.
1856, Beacon Falls, 4.
1859, Morris, 2.
1861, Sprague, 2.
1866, Thomaston, 2.

ESTIMATES OF POPULATION IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

[From the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1887.]

I am not aware that any attempt has been made to discuss in a connected way the scattered estimates of the numbers of inhabitants from time to time in the several colonies which afterwards became the United States of America. The materials at command are so meagre as to discourage inquiry, but a conviction that a beginning should be made in the arrangement of the data we have, and a hope of opening the way for useful deductions, have moved me to offer this study.

Certain elements of difficulty are inseparable from the attempt. In America, under the colonial régime, there was but little systematic collection by authority of trustworthy population-statistics. For long periods, in most of the colonies, there was an utter dearth of even the pretence of knowledge; while such estimates as we have, there is reason to suspect, are often intentionally misleading, when officials, on the one hand of the boastful, or on the other hand of the timid type, thought to serve some interest by exaggeration or by understatement. In many of the returns, moreover, there is a failure to specify whether certain classes of the community, as negroes and Indians, are included; often, however, such uncertainty vanishes by an inspection of the figures. Other elements of vagueness and of perplexity will suggest themselves, as we consider the field in detail.

Taking the colonies in the usual geographical order, the first is the Province of New Hampshire, in which there are no peculiarities or extraordinary variations to be noted, but a tolerably uniform though slow rate of increase.

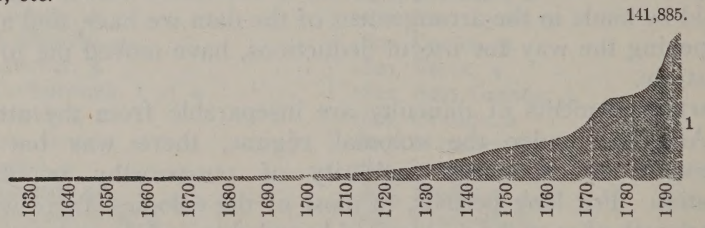
The separate history of the district is merged from 1641 to 1679 in that of Massachusetts Bay; and for the earliest period, that prior to the protectorate of Massachusetts, our associate Col. Albert H. Hoyt, in a paper contributed to our Proceedings,[52] estimates that "the entire population * * * did not much exceed, if it equalled, one thousand souls." The figure suggested is, I think, too large, in comparison with the earliest official basis of calculation,

[52] April, 1876, 91.

namely, the 209 qualified voters at the date of the first General Assembly after the erection of New Hamphsire into a Royal Province.[53] True, the list of voters in 1680 by no means embraced the whole male population of voting age; but so far as it gives any clue, it implies less than 1,000 inhabitants in 1641, and less than the 4,000 and the 6,000 which Mr. Bancroft assigns to these towns in 1675 and 1689, respectively.[54]

The first contemporaneous figures are those in a Report by the Lords of Trade on the American Plantations in 1721, to the effect that the number of people on Governor Shute's arrival in 1716 was computed at 9,000, and the increase up to the last hearing was about 500.[55] Between this testimony and the first census a valuable hint

NOTE. The side-numerals in this and following wood-cuts indicate 100,000, 200,000, etc.



comes from the statement of John Farmer, chief of New Hampshire antiquaries, that the ratable inhabitants in 1732 were under 3,000,[56] implying a total of from 12 to 13,000. Another local authority preserves the polling list in 1761,[57] which indicates about 38,000 inhabitants; while the first attempt at actual enumeration was a census, six years later, gathered from the returns of the selectmen, and amounting to 52,700 souls,[58] which points to a somewhat more rapid growth than before.

[53] Belknap's Hist., ed. Farmer, i., 91.

[54] Hist. U. S., i., 383, 608; all references to Bancroft are to the last revision, unless otherwise stated.

[55] Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y., v., 595, and Palfrey's Hist. of N. E., iv., 457. Cf. a similar estimate in Chalmers's Hist. of Revolt.

[56] 2,946; in Holmes's Annals, 2d ed., ii., 539. Dr. Wm. Douglass (in his Summary, ii., 180) estimates 24,000 in 1742, which is credible; notice should be taken of the gain of territory in 1740 from Massachusetts. British officials estimated the white inhabitants in 1749 at 30,000 (Pitkin's Statist. View, 2d ed., 12). Burnaby's Travels (2d ed., 151) stated about 40,000 in 1759.

[57] 9,146 (Rev. Samuel Langdon, in Holmes's Annals, ii., 540).

[58] Provincial Papers of N. H., vii., 170. Bancroft's estimate (ii., 38) of 50,000 whites in 1754 is excessive, and still more so Winsor's (Narrative and Critical Hist. of Amer., v., 151), taken from the Board of Trade's figures, 75,000 in 1755, quoted by Bancroft in early editions (iv., 128-9), but discarded by him later.

A second Provincial census, after another six years' interval, yielded over 72,000,[59] and a less complete return obtained for the State Convention of 1775 assigned a total of about 81,000,[60] or double the number in the Province some thirteen years before. Natural growth and the recuperation after the war brought these figures up to 95,000[61] in 1786, and to 141,885 in 1790. None of these estimates include the Vermont towns, to which New Hampshire so long laid claim, and which by 1790 rivalled her own numbers of ten years before.

In the case of Massachusetts the population-curve can be more confidently traced. The slow and painful growth of Plymouth Colony had brought together "near 300" persons[62] in 1630, when Boston was founded; while in two years after that date the plantation at the Bay had expanded to about 2,000.[63]

An early basis for calculation is the apportionment of troops for the New England Confederacy in 1643, when the quota of Massachusetts Bay was five times that of Plymouth, in which colony there were then 627 males of military age.[64] The population is usually computed as from four and a half to five and a half times the number of militia. This yields as a probable total in 1643 for Massachusetts (including Plymouth, but not the New Hampshire towns) from 16,000 to 17,000 souls; Dr. Palfrey prefers the higher figure,[65] but the lower is the safer limit.[66]

The full stream of immigration which had fed hitherto the Bay Colony ceased after 1640, when Massachusetts contained probably as many people as the rest of British America; and some retardation of the rate of increase, unequalled in the early stages of any other colony, except Pennsylvania, then set in. For sixty years, however,

[59] 72,092 (Provincial Papers of N. H., x., 625-36).

[60] Provincial Papers of N. H., vii., 780-81. This return was made to correct the wild estimate of Congress, which was in one form 102,000, exclusive of slaves, or as otherwise reported (John Adams's Works, vii., 302) 150,000.

[61] 95,755 (Provincial Papers, x., 689).

[62] Patent to Bradford. Cf. Lowell Inst. Lectures on Early Hist. of Mass., 169.

[63] T. Wiggin's Letter in Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 3d series, viii., 322.

[64] Palfrey's Hist., ii., 6.

[65] ii., 5.

[66] Intermediate estimates are:—for 1635, Plymouth, 500 (Palfrey, i., 166), and Massachusetts Bay, nearly or quite 5,000 (Rev. Henry M. Dexter's Roger Williams, 41); for 1636, 3,000, or at most, 4,000 (G. B. Emerson, in Lowell Inst. Lectures on Hist. of Mass., 465); for 1637, Plymouth, 549, and Massachusetts Bay 7,912 (J. B. Felt, in Collections of Amer. Statist. Assoc., i., 139); for 1639, the Bay, 8,592 (*do.*).

we have no direct estimates of any value, and must for the interval fall back on such computations as the important series prepared by our late associate, Dr. Joseph B. Felt, in 1845, for the American Statistical Association,[67] largely on the basis of militia rolls. Judged by his careful figures, Dr. Palfrey[68] is substantially correct in assigning 30,000 to Massachusetts (including the new Province of Maine, as well as New Hampshire and Plymouth) in 1665, as also Mr. Bancroft[69] in assigning 37,000 to the same territory at the outbreak of Philip's war.[70] Mr. Bancroft's next estimate, at the Revolution of 1689,[71] of 44,000 for Massachusetts, with Plymouth and Maine, is an over-cautious deduction from the roll of the militia;[72] on the other hand, Dr. Palfrey's hesitating suggestion[73] of 60,000 as the total on the change of government in 1692, is slightly excessive.

The Board of Trade's Report in 1721[74] gives a new basis for calculation, computing about 94,000 for Massachusetts; and though Dr. Palfrey[75] styles this a "heedless exaggeration," his criticism may be criticised in turn as too sweeping.[76] The next evidence of importance[77] comes from the rate list of 1735, which registered 35,427 taxable polls, that is, of white citizens (both male and female) aged sixteen years and upwards, besides a total of 2,600 blacks.[78] The accepted ratio of such polls to the population is that

[67] Collections of the Association, i., pt. 2.

[68] Hist., iii., 35. Felt estimates Massachusetts (including Plymouth, Maine and New Hampshire) at 28,777 in 1665. Capt. Edward Johnson's assumption of near 80,000 in New England in 1661 (Wonder Working Providence, ed. Poole, cxxiv-vi.), though approved by Doyle, seems to me quite impossible.

[69] i., 383.

[70] The extravagant misrepresentations of Cartwright in 1665 (30,000 militia), and of Randolph in 1676 (150,000 souls), are sufficiently exposed in Palfrey's Hist., iii., 36. Baylies (Hist. of Plymouth Colony, iii., 191) says that in 1676 one estimate was for Massachusetts 28,750 souls, and for Plymouth 7,500.

[71] i., 608.

[72] Reported by Sir Edmund Andros in 1690 as 8,413. Cf. Palfrey, iv., 136.

[73] iv., 136. Winsor's Hist. of America (v. 92) gives 60—100,000 as the allowable range of estimates for this date. Felt (Amer. Statist. Assoc., i., 142) computes 62,724 for 1695. Humphreys (Hist. Account of S. P. G., 42) writes in 1701, "in Boston and Piscataway Government there are about 80,000 souls."

[74] Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., v., 597.

[75] iv., 387.

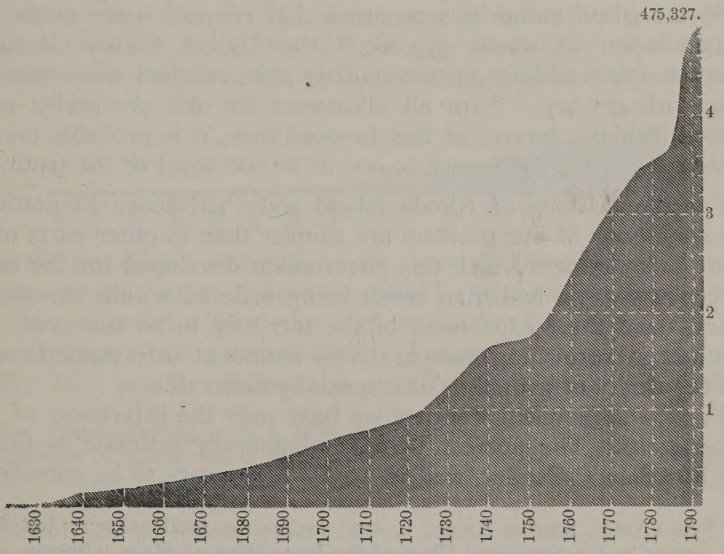
[76] The same Report of the Board of Trade reckons the militia in 1718 at 14,925 men, besides 300 officers and 800 exempts, 16,025 in all; the population, then, might well be over 85,000.

[77] An anonymous tract of 1731, quoted in Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, iii., 172, credits Massachusetts with "at least 120,000 white inhabitants."

[78] Amer. Statist. Assoc., i., 142, quoting Hist. of Brit. Dominions in N.

of 1 to 4; with a necessary allowance for evasions of the poll, a result of 144,000 and over is justified. A similar but less exact report for 1742[79] gives at least 165,000 inhabitants, substantially the same as the estimate for nine years later, furnished by Governor Pownall,[80] who calls attention to "a great depopulation by small-pox and war," which had intervened; to which causes of retardation might have been added the loss of eight thriving towns transferred in this interval to Rhode Island and Connecticut, in the straightening of boundaries. With these serious drawbacks it is likely that Mr. Winsor's estimate[81] of 200,000 for 1755 is nearer the truth than Mr. Bancroft's[82] of 207,000 whites and 4,000 or 5,000 negroes in 1754.

In 1764 we reach the first Provincial Census, the returns of



America (published 1773); the same authorities estimate the militia in 1747 at 36,000, which would give a total of over 190,000,—probably too large.

[79] Douglass's Summary, ii., 180.

[80] Memorial to Sovereigns of Europe (1780), 58; probably he derived his figures from the polling-list.

[81] Hist. of Amer., v., 151, from the Board of Trade's Report, in Bancroft's early editions, iv., 129.

[82] ii., 389, 391. The British official estimate in 1749 was 220,000 whites (Pitkin's Statist. View, 2d ed., 12). Pres. Ezra Stiles supposed 234,000 in 1754 (Holmes's Annals, ii., 538). Burnaby, in 1759 (Travels, 2d ed., 136), learned that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were "supposed to amount to 200,000." Gov. Pownall (Memorial, 58), arguing probably from the list of polls, and therefore underestimating, gives 216,000 as an approximate figure for 1761.

which, though not officially preserved, seem to have shown a total of 270,000 and upwards,[83] and so mark the era of most vigorous growth before the Revolution. From her numbers, no less than her spirit, Massachusetts was entitled to vie with Virginia, the only larger colony, in leading the opposition to the Stamp Act.

In 1776 came another census, taken by suggestion of Congress, and aggregating near 340,000;[84] the Congressional levies of the previous year had assumed a total of 352,000,[85] which was hardly true until the war, with all its hindrances to growth, was nearing its close, say by 1780.[86]

With the approach of peace and the new influx of foreign immigration began, as in almost all of these newly fledged republics, a wonderful recovery so rapid that while at the opening of the year 1786 the State authorities reported that returns lately made gave a population of about 357,000,[87] the United States Census in August, 1790, adding 33 per cent. to this, reached the astounding figure of 475,327. With all allowance for the prosperity which flowed in like a torrent at this favored time, it is probable that the State returns for 1785 were 10,000 or 20,000 short of the truth.

For the "Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," the conditions of our problem are simpler than in other parts of the field. The aptness which this government developed for the taking of censuses,—no less than seven being ordered within seventy-five years,—and the compactness of the territory to be surveyed, have resulted in furnishing comparatively abundant information; while the regularity of growth is also specially noticeable.

For the seventeenth century we have only the inferences of later generations. The nearest to a contemporary estimate is that of the historian Callender, that in 1658—fifty years to be sure before

[83] Felt (Amer. Statist. Assoc., i., 157) makes the total 254,253; but Dr. J. Chickering, in his Statistical View of the Population of Mass. (Boston, 1846), 4-5, proves omissions which make the result for what is now Massachusetts about 245,718, to which adding the District of Maine, we get 269,711. Dr. J. Belknap (Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, iv., 198) remarks that this census, being an unpopular measure, was not accurately taken; so that Dr. Chickering's total may need to be increased.

[84] 338,667, in Chickering's Statist. View, 9; Felt (Amer. Statist. Assoc., i., 131-2, 165) does not give the complete figures. Probably the returns were still below the actual population.

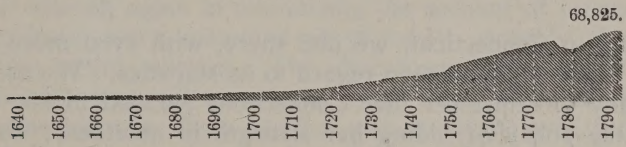
[85] Or in 1774, 400,000 (John Adams's Works, vii., 302).

[86] Felt gives (Amer. Statist. Assoc., i., 132, 170) the polling-lists for 1778 (76,854), 1781 (79,645), and 1784 (91,546). Bryant and Gay's Popular Hist. of U. S. (iv., 91) estimates 350,000 in 1782.

[87] Amer. Statist. Assoc., i., 170. Cf. Belknap in Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, v., 198.

his own birth—there were, perhaps, fewer than 200 families[88] in the whole jurisdiction. If this figure deserves credence, it is likely that in 1663, when Charles the Second's Charter took effect, the white inhabitants were less than 2,000.[89] At the date of Philip's War they may have increased to 3,000,[90] and at the Revolution of 1689 to 5,000.[91]

We come next to a Census taken in 1708, in conformity with a request from the Board of Trade. This showed 7,181 whites and negroes in the nine towns of the Colony,[92] and was followed by another in 1730, similarly prompted, which gave a total of 16,950, besides 985 Indians.[93] The Colony advanced at the same rate of growth[94] until 1747, when a strip of territory was acquired from Massachusetts,[95] which accounts for the increase to over 34,000[96] in the third census, that of 1748, in response to more queries from the Board of Trade. After this the old rate of growth gave slightly over 40,000 in 1755,[97] at the last enumeration by British authority.



On the eve of the Revolution, the General Assembly, of its own motion, caused a most elaborate census to be taken, in June, 1774, and thus recorded almost the highest mark of prosperity in the Colonial stage,—not quite 60,000.[98] Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill put a sudden stop to all this prosperity. With a

[88] Hist. Discourse, 149, in R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections, iv.

[89] Bancroft (i., 363-4) thinks there may have been 2,500; Durfee (Discourse before R. I. Hist. Soc., 16) says, not over 3,000 or 4,000. Palfrey (Hist., iii., 35) conjectures 3,000 in 1665.

[90] Bancroft (i., 383) says, perhaps 4,000.

[91] Bancroft (i., 608) says, perhaps 6,000.

[92] R. I. Col. Records, iv., 59; Arnold's Hist., ii., 32.

[93] Callender's Hist. Discourse, 93, 94; Arnold's Hist., ii., 101. Chalmers (in Hist. of the Revolt, ii., 7) cites a British estimate for 1715 of 9,000, which is too low.

[94] Pres. John Adams, in his Twenty-Six Letters respecting the Revolution, written in 1780, says (Works, vii., 303), that in 1738 there were 15,000 inhabitants in R. I. Douglass (Summary, ii., 180) estimates 30,000 in 1742.

[95] Containing 4,776 inhabitants (Arnold's Hist., ii., 166).

[96] Arnold, ii., 173. Cf. Snow's Report on the Census of R. I. for 1865, xxxii., xxxiv.

[97] 40,414, as given in Potter's Early Hist. of Narragansett, 174; 40,636, as given in Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 2d series, vii., 113, and (in more detail) in Pres. Ezra Stiles's MSS., in Yale University Library.

[98] 59,707; printed in detail, with the names of all heads of families, in 1858.

British fleet threatening thenceforth her exposed territory, and half the population of her chief town scattered, no wonder that a census taken in June, 1776, on recommendation of the Continental Congress, showed a loss to Rhode Island of 5,000—8 per cent. of her total—within two years.[99] Under the same causes, a census in 1782 showed a further reduction of 5 per cent.;[100] but with the close of hostilities the tide turned, and the Federal Convention underestimated the truth in assuming 58,000[101] as the probable population in 1787. The census of 1790 showed the figure at that date to be 68,825, leaving Rhode Island, as she had been for the preceding century, the most densely populated of any of the original States. Her share in the proceeds of the slave-trade is suggested incidentally by the fact that at the acme of her Colonial prosperity one person of every nine within her borders was either a negro or an Indian,—four or five times as great a proportion, that is to say, as in her neighbors, and unequalled anywhere north of Mason and Dixon's line.

Passing to Connecticut, we find there, with even more regular growth, no such openness in regard to its statistics. We are forced continually to remember that Connecticut pursued in her colonial history the policy of hiding her strength in quietness; so far as might not be inconsistent with general truthfulness, she preferred to make no exhibit of her actual condition.

The beginnings here were feeble as elsewhere. The historian Trumbull's conjecture[102] still commands respect, that at the close of the first year of settlement the original colony had increased to probably 800 persons, and Lord Say and Sele in 1642 testifies[103] to the understanding in England that the same settlements had grown by that time to over 2,000. At the establishment of the New England Confederacy in 1643, the towns along the Connecticut were rated as if containing nearly or quite 3,000 souls, and the younger Colony of New Haven as if numbering nearly or quite 2,500.[104] From this date to the union of the two governments, Connecticut grew somewhat slowly,[105] and New Haven was still less vigorous. I doubt if the total in 1665, when the union was finally adjusted,

[99] 55,011; in Snow's Report on Census of 1865, xxxii.

[100] About 52,400, one town which was in the enemy's hands not being reported; see Arnold's Hist., ii., 481.

[101] Curtis's Hist. of the Constitution, ii., 168.

[102] Hist. of Conn., i., 68.

[103] Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., i., 128.

[104] Palfrey's Hist., ii., 5, 6.

[105] Her ratable polls in 1654 were perhaps 825, and population about 4,000—4,500 (Colony Records, 1636-65, 265).

could have been over 9,000,[106]—about one-third the number in Massachusetts, and this proportion held good through that century.

In 1679 the authorities received a list of searching queries from the Lords of Trade, but contented themselves as to statistics of population with reporting the figures of the militia-rolls, which imply in the current decade an advance (almost wholly without help from immigration) from about 10,000 to 14,000.[107] For the next thirty years the numbers of taxable persons recorded annually with more or less fulness in the assessments of rates by the Colonial Assembly[108] are our best clues to the population, though these lists do not cover unincorporated neighborhoods, and new towns were apt to be released from being listed for a few years after incorporation. These clues justify Mr. Bancroft's supposition[109] of from 17,000 to 20,000 in 1689, but require us to double almost the estimate in Trumbull's History[110] of 17,000 in 1713.

In 1730 the Colony had another set of queries to answer, and found its interest again in minimizing the account of its resources: the inhabitants were computed at 38,700,[111] probably about two-thirds the actual number. The discrepancy between fact and representation was still greater in 1749, when yet another list of troublesome inquiries from London was answered with a guess of 71,000[112] for the population of a Colony, which less than seven years later, under a peremptory requirement of a house-to-house census, proved to have over 130,000.[113]

After this date progress was slightly checked for a time by the French war and by removals to newly conquered territory; but a census in 1761 gave a total of 145,590[114] and a higher rate of

[106] Trumbull says (Hist. of Conn., i., 287), 1,700 families and 8-9,000 inhabitants; Palfrey says (Hist., iii., 35), 10,000 or more.

[107] In 1671, 2,050 militia (from 16 to 60 years old); in 1676, 2,303; in 1677, 2,365; in 1678, 2,490; in 1679, 2,507. (Col. Records, 1678-89, 295, 298.) Other estimates are the following:—Peters, in 1670, 15,000, and in 1680, 20,000 (General Hist. Conn., 263); Bancroft, in 1675, nearly 14,000 whites (Hist., i., 383); Baylies, in 1676, 13,750 (Hist. of Plymouth Colony, iii., 191).

[108] Col. Records, *passim*.

[109] i., 608.

[110] i., 451. Chalmers's Hist. of the Revolt (ii., 7) cites an official estimate of 47,500 in 1715, which is much too large.

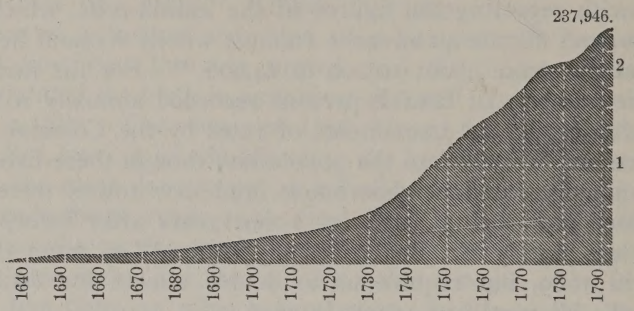
[111] Col. Records, vii., 584.

[112] Col. Records, ix., 596; the real figure was about double what it was at the last inquiry, and the British Government adopted 100,000 whites as their estimate (Pitkin's Statist. View, 2d ed., 12).

[113] 130,612, or (according to another count) 132,416. Cf. Col. Records, x., 618, 623.

[114] To this number might be added 930 Indians living among the whites (Col. Records, xi., 575, 630).

increase brought up the result before the Revolution to 200,000, exclusive of settlements in the Wyoming Valley.[115] Another census at the war's close showed a gain, if only of 8,000,[116] and the Federal census of 1790 gave 237,946, the tide of Western emigra-



tion preventing as rapid a growth as just before the war. That such emigration was a foregone conclusion is evident from the fact that Rhode Island was the only State which surpassed Connecticut, down to 1790, in density of population.

The Province of New York offers a marked contrast to Connecticut in its attitude towards superior authority, surpassing even Rhode Island in the frequency of its official enumerations. When wrested from the Dutch, in 1664, New Netherland may possibly have contained 7,000 souls,[117]—not quite as many as Connecticut, not one-quarter as many as Massachusetts; at their temporary restoration, nine years later, the Dutch estimated their own contingent in the Colony as about 6,000 or 7,000, to which must be added perhaps half as many English and other whites.[118]

The Proprietary period of New York history ended with James the Second's downfall in 1689, but no new spirit of growth marked the change to a Royal Colony. A thorough census, the first of any magnitude in all the British Colonies, was ordered by the Governor, Lord Bellomont, in 1698, and yielded 18,067;[119] but the preceding

[115] A census in 1774 gave 196,088, without Wyoming (Col. Records, xiv., 490-1); the estimate of Congress in 1774 was 192,000, and another in 1775 was 262,000.

[116] 208,870, in 1782; the Federal Convention of 1787 estimated Conn. at 202,000. (Curtis's Hist. of Const., ii., 168.)

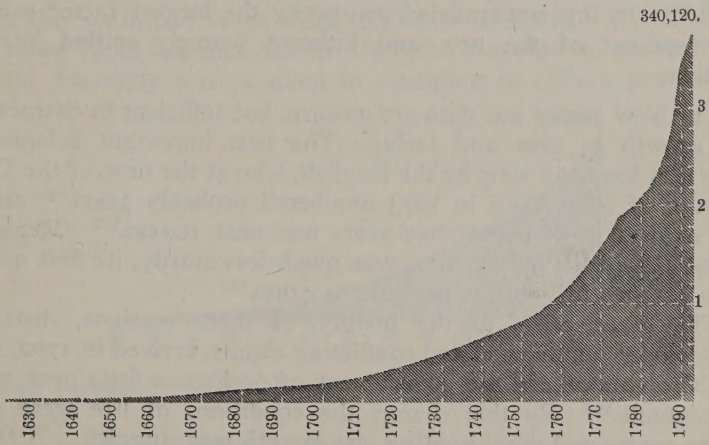
[117] J. A. Stevens, in Winsor's Hist. of America (iii., 385), says not over 7,000; Roberts (Hist. of N. Y., i., 95) thinks 8,000 a liberal estimate; O'Callaghan (Hist. of New Netherland, ii., 540) cites Dutch local authorities for full 10,000; a Memorial of Holland Traders (Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., ii., 512) says over 8,000.

[118] Documents relating to Col. Hist., ii., 526, and Roberts's N. Y., 107-9.

[119] Documents relating to Col. Hist., iv., 420.

decade had been one of alarms and of war; and the northern part of the Province had suffered from resulting emigrations, so that Mr. Bancroft's estimate[120] of not less than 20,000 at the Revolution of '89 is not seriously at fault.

Lord Cornbury took a second census, five years after, which yielded an increase of nearly 15 per cent.[121] Then followed Governor Hunter's in 1712, which met with so much opposition, from superstitious fear of its breeding sickness,[122] that only partial returns were obtained; these indicate a total of over 28,000.[123] More satisfactory results were gained in the next attempts, and the censuses for 1723, 1731, 1737, and 1746, exhibit a regular pro-



gression, yielding in round numbers, respectively, 40,000, 50,000, 60,000 and 70,000.[124] These results need probably to be modified by Governor Clinton's admission in reporting on the returns of yet another census in 1749,[125] that since the officers have no pay for this service, it is performed reluctantly and carelessly.

[120] i., 608. Brodhead (Hist. of N. Y., ii., 458) puts the population in 1686 at about 18,000.

[121] 20,665, as given in Hough's N. Y. Census for 1855, iv.; 20,748, in Documents relating to Col. Hist., v., 339.

[122] Cf. I Chron., xxi.

[123] Documents relating to Col. Hist., v., 339; Hough's Census for 1855, v. Chalmers, in Hist. of the Revolt (ii., 7), cites a government estimate for 1715 of 31,000, a probable figure; Roberts (N. Y., i., 232) quotes the same as for 1720, not so appropriately.

[124] 40,564 in 1723 (Documents relating to Col. Hist., v., 702); 50,289 in 1731 (*do.*, iv., 694; the figures in *do.*, v., 929, are incorrect); 60,437 in 1737 (*do.*, vi., 133); 61,589 in 1746, without Albany County, "not possible to be numbered on account of the Enemy" (*do.*, vi., 392).

[125] 73,448. See Documents relating to Col. Hist., vi., 509, 550.

Again, in 1756, in answer to the Board of Trade's Queries, in the interest of war-levies, the population was found to number 96,790.[126] Then, after a longer interval, during which the rate of increase rose sensibly, especially by reason of the conquest of Canada and the extinction of border warfare, came Governor Tryon's census in 1771, with a total (excluding the Vermont towns) of 163,338.[127] This progress continued until war came on. About 190,000 is probably a fair estimate for 1775,[128] and a State census for 1786, after the results of peace were actually in hand, gave 50,000 more,[129]—not perhaps a complete return, as the Federal census four years later gained on this figure by more than 100,000, or 42 per cent.[130] In this unparalleled prosperity the largest factor was the development of the new and hitherto scarcely settled Western section.

For New Jersey our data are meagre, but sufficient to characterize its growth as slow and feeble. The first important colonization was that begun in 1665 by the English, who at the time of the Dutch seizure of New York in 1673 numbered probably 3,000,[131] and by the expiration of twenty-five years was near 10,000.[132] Meantime, West Jersey, settled in 1674, was much less sturdy, its first quarter of a century bringing it perhaps to 4,000.[133]

The great crisis in the history of these sections, distracted hitherto by complicated and conflicting claims, arrived in 1702, when the Crown assumed the government of perhaps a little over 15,000 inhabitants.[134] By this change the conditions of life were made more secure and more inviting, yet growth was sluggish. A census was unpopular, for the same reasons as in New York, and not until 1726 was any regular enumeration effected, the result at that date being 32,442.[135] The quarrelsomeness and general turbulence of

[126] 83,242 whites, and 13,548 blacks (Hough's Census of 1855, vi.). Bancroft (ii., 389, 391) says in 1754 about 85,000 whites and not far from 11,000 negroes.

[127] Documentary Hist. of N. Y., i., 697, or Hough's Census of 1855, vii.

[128] Prof. A. Johnston (School Hist., 93) estimates 180,000; the estimate of Congress was about 250,000.

[129] 238,897 (Hough's Census of 1855, viii.).

[130] 340,120.

[131] 469 adult males (Whitehead's E. Jersey under the Proprietors, 2d ed., 76). 3,500 in 1676, according to Dr. Daniel Coxe (N. J. Archives, ii., 14). About 5,250 in 1682 (Smith's Hist., 161. Cf. Winsor's Hist. of Amer., iii., 436).

[132] Whitehead, in Winsor's Hist., iii., 446; Bancroft, i., 608.

[133] 832 freeholders in 1699 (N. J. Archives, ii., 305).

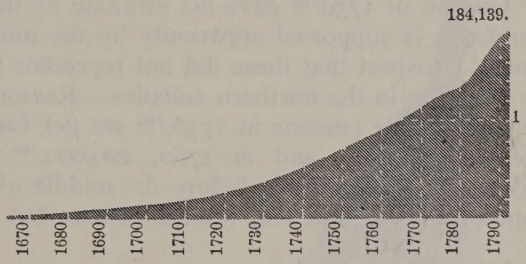
[134] Gen. McClellan, in Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., xvii., 398; from Humphreys's Hist. Account of the S. P. G. (1701), 42. Chalmers, in Hist. of the Revolt, i., 376, gives a wild guess of 8,000 in 1702.

[135] N. J. Archives, v., 164.

the community, and the lack of appropriations for payment to the collectors, limited the number of further censuses under Provincial authority to two, in 1737 and 1745, which amounted, speaking roughly, to 50,000 and 60,000, from seven to eight per cent. being negroes.[136]

After this we have such guesses as the Royal Governors could make, for the satisfaction of their superiors. In 1754 and again in 1755, Governor Belcher reported about 80,000 whites and from 1,500 to 1,800 blacks,[137] the latter item an evident understatement; and Governor Franklin in 1774 conjectured 120,000,[138] implying a stunted growth, to be accounted for in part by the drain of emigration to the South and West, since the Peace of Paris.

A more rapid advance set in after the Revolution, so that the General Assembly was justified in assuming in 1784 a population



of about 150,000,[139] which the first United States census carried up to 184,139.

In Pennsylvania and Delaware, so far as appears, the census of 1790 was the first thorough enumeration attempted, and accordingly we are much in the dark for all the colonial period; a special embarrassment arises, moreover, in discussing such data as we have, from the uncertainty whether in any given case, Delaware, a quasi-independent adjunct of the Province, is included.

In 1681, before the arrival of Penn's settlers, the territory contained about 500 whites,[140] mainly Swedes on the banks of the

[136] 47,369 in 1737 (N. J. Archives, vi., 244). 61,383, including 4,606 slaves, in 1745 (*do.*, 242, 243).

[137] N. J. Archives, viii., pt. 2, 84, 186. A British official estimate of 1749 was 60,000 whites (Pitkin's Statist. View, 2d ed., 12); Bancroft computes (ii., 389, 391) for 1754 about 73,000 whites and 5,500 blacks; Douglass (Summary, ii., 286) says in 1755 about 50,000; Burnaby's Travels (2d ed., 58) say 70,000 in 1760.

[138] N. J. Archives, x., 446. He supposes an increase of over 20,000 since 1764. The estimate of Congress in 1774 was 130,000 (John Adams's Works, vii., 302).

[139] 138,934 whites, and 10,501 blacks.

[140] F. D. Stone, in Winsor's Hist. of America, iii., 480.

Delaware; but by 1685 the number had risen to 7,200.[141] The popular impression is correct, that colonization here was throughout more rapid than in any other of the original governments; and Mr. Bancroft, in his review of America at the Revolution of 1689, sees reason to conclude that Pennsylvania and Delaware numbered already perhaps 12,000.[142]

The contemporary estimates, however, are of little help. Col. Heathcote, of the New York government, informed the Propagation Society in 1700, that there were in Pennsylvania at least 20,000 souls.[143] Chalmers cites[144] a Government estimate for 1715 of 45,800; but the value of such evidence is diminished by the frank admission of the Board of Trade's careful Report, six years later,[145] that the accounts submitted to them differ widely, ranging from 65,000 to half that figure.

Governor Gordon in 1730[146] gave his estimate of the population as 49,000, and this is supported apparently by the number of taxables,[147] though I suspect that these did not represent the same per cent. of the whole as in the northern colonies. Reasoning likewise from the list of taxable persons in 1750,[148] we get for that date a probable total of 150,000, and in 1760, 220,000.[149] This rapid increase had placed Pennsylvania before the middle of the century next in numbers to Virginia and Massachusetts, but now ensued

[141] Winsor's Hist. of Amer., iii., 491.

[142] i., 608.

[143] Humphreys's Hist. Account of S. P. G., 42. Bryant and Gay's Popular History (iii., 170) says over 20,000. Grahame's History (2d ed., i., 551) estimates 35,000.

[144] Hist. of the Revolt, ii., 7.

[145] Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., v., 604.

[146] British Museum, Add. MS. 30,372.

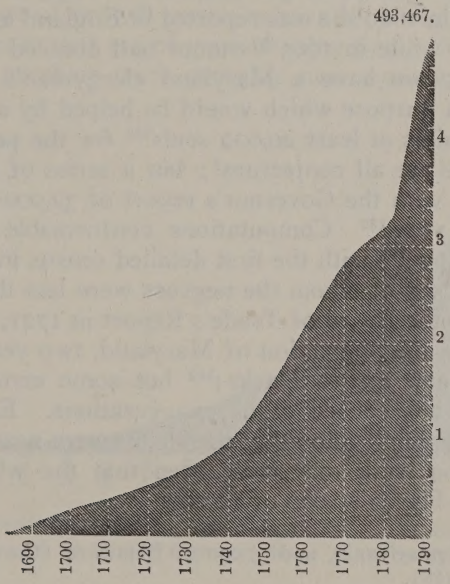
[147] Proud's Hist. of Pa. (ii., 275) says not over 10,000 in 1731 in Pennsylvania alone; but I should estimate the population of Pennsylvania and Delaware at about 69,000. For 1740, Provost C. J. Stillé (Pa. Magazine of Hist., x., 284) says about 100,000.

[148] About 21,000 in Pennsylvania alone in 1751 (Proud's Hist., ii., 275); not over 22,000 in 1752 (Hist. Review of Government of Pa., 196) Pres. Ezra Stiles (Itineraries, 187) quotes Dr. Franklin as telling him that he supposed 160,000 in Pennsylvania in 1752; But Franklin's Preface to Galloway's Speech, in 1764 (Works, ed. Bigelow, iii., 334) computes 20,000 houses in the Province in 1752, each on an average containing five persons. The British Government in 1749 estimated 250,000 whites in Pennsylvania and Delaware (Pitkin's Statist. View, 2d ed., 12).

[149] 31,667 taxables in Pennsylvania alone (Col. Records, xiv., 336). Compare the estimate, by one of the Governor's Council, of 200,000 in 1757 (do., vii., 448). Bancroft's figures (ii., 389, 391) for 1754, 206,000, seem too large; as also those of Gov. Morris in 1755, over 300,000 (Col. Rec., vi., 336), and of Burnaby's Travels (2d ed., 80) in 1759, 4-500,000.

a slight moderation of her headlong advance. Dr. Franklin, in his famous examination before the House of Commons in 1766,[150] supposed that there might be about 160,000 whites in Pennsylvania alone; but he did not profess to speak with accuracy and was under a bias which led him, perhaps unconsciously, into cautious understatement. More credible is the historian Proud's inference in 1770[151] from the number of taxables, that there were 250,000 people in Pennsylvania, and from 20,000 to 30,000 in Delaware.

This enormous growth kept up with scarcely any relaxation until the war, Governor Penn reporting in January, 1775, over 300,000[152]



for Pennsylvania alone, while during the war the estimate of Congress, which was located favorably for an accurate judgment, stood at the same figure.[153] Even more startling was the increase after the war ceased,[154] when for the first time Massachusetts was outstripped, and the estimate of the Federal Convention in 1787,

[150] Works, ed. Bigelow, iii., 412; in same vol. (334) he supposes not over 110,000 in 1764.

[151] Hist. of Pa., ii., 275, 276. Cf. Col. Records, xiv., 336.

[152] 300,000 whites and 2,000 blacks (Pa. Archives, iv., 597). Scharf's Hist. of Maryland says (ii., 200) 341,000 in 1775, excluding slaves.

[153] Pa. Archives, viii., 473 (for 1780); the estimate for Delaware was 37,000. The Taxables for 1779 were 45,683 (Brissot's New Travels, 326). Bryant and Gay's Popular Hist. of U. S. says (iv., 91) 350,000 in 1782 in Pennsylvania.

[154] 66,925 taxables in 1786 (Brissot, 326).

remarkably correct in comparison with most of its other guesses, was 397,000.[155] The result in 1790 was second only to Virginia (both absolutely, and in percentage of growth since 1775), being 434,373 for Pennsylvania proper, and 59,094 for Delaware. It should be noted in passing that, from about the middle of the century, when Boston was left behind, Philadelphia was by far the most populous place in the Colonies.

Maryland presents throughout a uniform and gradual development, resembling strikingly that of Connecticut. She began with Leonard Calvert's cargo of 300 colonists in 1634, and enjoyed such accessions that in 1660 she was reported in England as "peopled with 8,000 souls,"[156] while in 1665[157] rumor had doubled even this allotment. In 1667 we have a Maryland clergyman's letter, written however with a purpose which would be helped by a generous estimate, which claims at least 20,000 souls[158] for the province.

These figures are all conjectural; but a series of more authority begins in 1701, with the Governor's report of 32,000 in round numbers for that year.[159] Computations conformable with this for other years follow,[160] with the first detailed census in 1712, showing just over 46,000,[161] of whom the negroes were less than one-fifth.

According to the Board of Trade's Report in 1721, already quoted in several cases, the population of Maryland, two years before, was 55,000 whites and 25,000 blacks;[162] but some error lies in these figures, which has caused other exaggerations. Especially to be questioned is the implication that the blacks were nearly one-third of the whole. The truth may have been that the whites numbered 50,000, and the blacks 10,000 or 12,000.

[155] 360,000 in Pennsylvania, and 37,000 in Delaware (Curtis's Hist. of the Constitution, ii., 168).

[156] Thomas Fuller's notice of Sir George Calvert, in his Worthies (written 1660, 1661), iii., 418.

[157] Oldmixon's Brit. Empire in America, i., 191. Bancroft (i., 176) adopts Fuller's estimate as more probable. It is not likely that there were 11,000 in 1665. Ogilby's America (185) in 1671 estimates 15,000 to 20,000 whites.

[158] Rev. J. Yeo, in Anderson's Hist. of the Colonial Church, 2d ed., ii., 395. Hildreth's Hist. (i., 567) says perhaps 16,000 in 1676.

[159] 32,258, according to British Museum, Add. MS. 30,372. McMahon (Hist. of Md., i., 273) and Bancroft (i., 608) estimate 25,000 in 1689; J. Esten Cooke (Va., 308) says 35,000 in 1700; Humphreys (Hist. Account of S. P. G., 1701) says over 25,000.

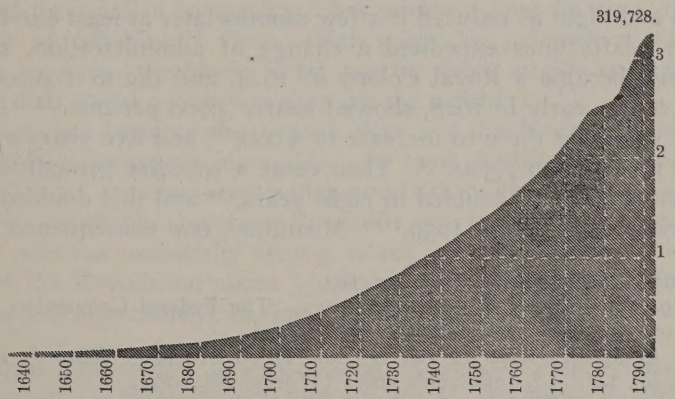
[160] For 1704, 35,012, and for 1710, 42,741 (Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., v., 605). Oldmixon's Brit. Empire in America, 1708, i., 204, says 30,000, and Scharf's Hist. of Md. (i., 370) says over 40,000 for same year. Bancroft (ii., 23) follows Oldmixon.

[161] 46,073, of whom 8,330 were negroes (Scharf's Hist., i., 377). A Government estimate in 1715 gives 50,200 (Chalmers's Hist. of the Revolt, ii., 7).

[162] Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., v., 605.

For the next thirty years we have no full evidence,[163] but the result is shown in Governor Ogle's report for 1748[164] of 130,000 inhabitants. A census in 1755, for the information of the Board of Trade, yielded about 154,000,—the negroes and mulattoes being about thirty per cent. of the whole;[165] and another return of the Governor and Council in 1761 reported 164,000,[166] of whom some 50,000 were blacks. As the understood object of these returns was for use in laying military requisitions, it is likely that evasions were frequent.

The intervening period, until the Revolution, is not known in detail, but the rate of growth seems to have been slightly below that of other Colonies in that era of general expansion. At the outbreak of the war the numbers were probably near 250,000,[167] and at its



[163] There is a Government estimate of 96,000 in 1732. The taxables (i. e., all males over sixteen, and all female negroes) were 31,470 in 1733 (McMahon's Hist., i., 313).

[164] Scharf's Hist., i., 437, or McMahon, i., 313: about 94,000 whites and 36,000 blacks. An English official estimate in 1749 was 85,000 whites (Pitkin's Statist. View, 2d ed., 12). Winsor's Hist. of America (v., 151) gives 100,000 as the total for 1749.

[165] 107,208 whites, 42,764 negroes, 3,592 mulattoes (Gentleman's Magazine, xxxiv., 261). Another account (McMahon, i., 313, and Scharf, ii., 14) gives 107,963 whites and 46,225 blacks. Bancroft says (ii., 389, 391) 104,000 whites and 44,000 blacks in 1754.

[166] 114,332 whites, 49,675 blacks (McMahon, i., 313). Rev. Ethan Allen (Am. Quarterly Church Review, xviii., 39) supposes over 200,000 in 1758. Burnaby conjectured in 1759 (Travels, 2d ed., 67) about 90,000 whites and 32,000 slaves.

[167] Lodge (Short Hist. of Engl. Colonies) adopts this figure. J. F. D. Smyth was told (Tour in U. S., ii., 187) that the numbers were 275,000. W. T. Brantley estimates (Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., xv., 603) at 200,000 in 1775. A Congressional estimate in 1774 was 320,000 (J. Adams's Works, vii., 302).

close four thousand more.[168] From this time to the census of 1790, with its total of 320,000,[169] the increase was a moderate one, though owning to limitations of territory the resulting density of population was unequalled outside of New England; and this helps to account for the decided stand of Maryland in refusing to adopt the Articles of Confederation until the rights of the general government to the undeveloped West were secured.

Virginia, the leader of the Colonies in time, and soon in numbers also, began as feebly as any. After ten years of existence (in 1616) her roll of inhabitants was only 351,[170] but immigration had swelled this list to 2,400[171] before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth. In the midst of this prosperity came the Indian massacre of 1622, which decimated the colony at once[172] and caused such alarm and flight as reduced it a few months later at least one-half.[173] These misfortunes expedited a change of administration, so that Virginia became a Royal Colony in 1624, and the first account of stock taken, early in 1628, showed nearly 3,000 persons.[174] It took seven years for these to increase to 5,000,[175] and five years more to bring them up to 7,500.[176] Then came a speedier growth, so that the last figure was doubled in eight years,[177] and this doubled again in eleven more, or by 1659.[178] Meantime, one consequence of the

[168] Encycl. Britannica, 9th ed., xv., 603.

[169] 319,728, of which 103,036 were slaves. The Federal Convention in 1787 estimated 250,000, of which 80,000 were slaves.

[170] C. Campbell's Hist. of Va., 117, and R. A. Brock, in Winsor's Hist. of Amer., iii., 141. Cf. Jefferson's notes (Works, viii., 329).

[171] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660, 22.

[172] 350-375 victims, out of a population estimated from 2,200 to over 4,000. Purchas's Pilgrims (iv., 1792) says 1,800 survived. Bancroft (i., 128) says the immigrants had exceeded 4,000.

[173] Bancroft (i., 128) says only 2,500 remained one year after the massacre. A list in the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660, 57 (cf. 43), seems to show only 1,275 in the winter of 1623-4, and 370 killed in the massacre.

[174] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660, 89. Gov. Harvey (*do.*, 117) estimated the inhabitants in May, 1630, at over 2,500.

[175] 5,119 in Census, early in 1635 (Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660, 201).

[176] 7,647 in 1640 is the estimate of the editors of the Aspinwall Papers, in Mass. Hist. Society's Collections, 4th series, ix., 79. Holmes's Annals (i., 315) supposes about 20,000 in 1642.

[177] A Perfect Description of Va., 1649 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d ser., ix., 105, or Force's Tracts, ii.), says about 15,000 English and 300 negroes. Bancroft's statement (i., 143), 20,000 at Christmas, 1648, seems too large.

[178] 30,000 (wrongly printed 80,000) in 1659 (Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1661-68, 350). The same, for 1660, in Chalmers's Polit. Annals, 125, and Bancroft, i., 152.

Revolution in England had been an increased immigration to the loyal Dominion of Virginia, which thus gained the leadership in numbers, before held by Massachusetts, but not again to be transferred, until New York claimed it in 1820.

In the next eleven years, the epoch of the Restoration, with its refluent tide of immigration, the rise was only from 30,000 to 40,000,[179] and at the crisis of the Revolution of 1689 this mother of colonies fell still a little short of 60,000.[180] Fourteen years were needed to raise the figure to 70,000,[181] and another fourteen to make 100,000.[182]

Between this date and the Old French War it is clear that the rate of growth was much accelerated, though we have few details. In 1755 Governor Dinwiddie,[183] on confessedly imperfect data, believed the total to be 230,000; but within a year he gives us the number of tithables,[185] from which might be inferred a total of almost 300,000,—the blacks being not far from 40 per cent. of the whole, their usual proportion through the century.

The growth between the French War and the Revolution was so marvelous as to appear incredible. In 1772 the tithables[185] imply a population of 475,000,—more than one-fifth of the sum total in the country. Probably Governor Pownall's estimate in 1774,[186] 300,000 whites, was not essentially wrong, which would imply at the beginning of the Revolution about 550,000 in all,[187]—Massachusetts, the next largest government, having less than two-thirds of this number.

[179] Gov. Berkeley in 1671 says above 40,000 (Chalmers's Polit. Annals, 327).

[180] Bancroft (i., 608) estimates 50,000 or more. The militia in 1690 were 6,570 (Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., v., 607).

[181] Oldmixon's Brit. Empire in Amer., i., 289. 58,000 in 1699 is the estimate of an official Report, in Brit. Museum, Add. MS. 30,372. Humphreys's Hist. Account of S. P. G. computes in 1700-01 above 40,000 [whites?]. The militia in 1703 were 10,556 (Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., v., 607).

[182] Chalmers's Hist. of the Revolt (ii., 7) gives an estimate of 95,000 for 1715. The taxables (*i. e.*, all males over 16, and all black females over 16) in 1715 were 31,658 (Gov. Spotswood's Letters, ii., 140). The militia in 1716 were 15,000 (*do.*, 211).

[183] Dinwiddie Papers, i., 387. Bancroft (ii., 390, 391) put the whites in 1754 at 168,000, and the blacks at not less than 116,000.

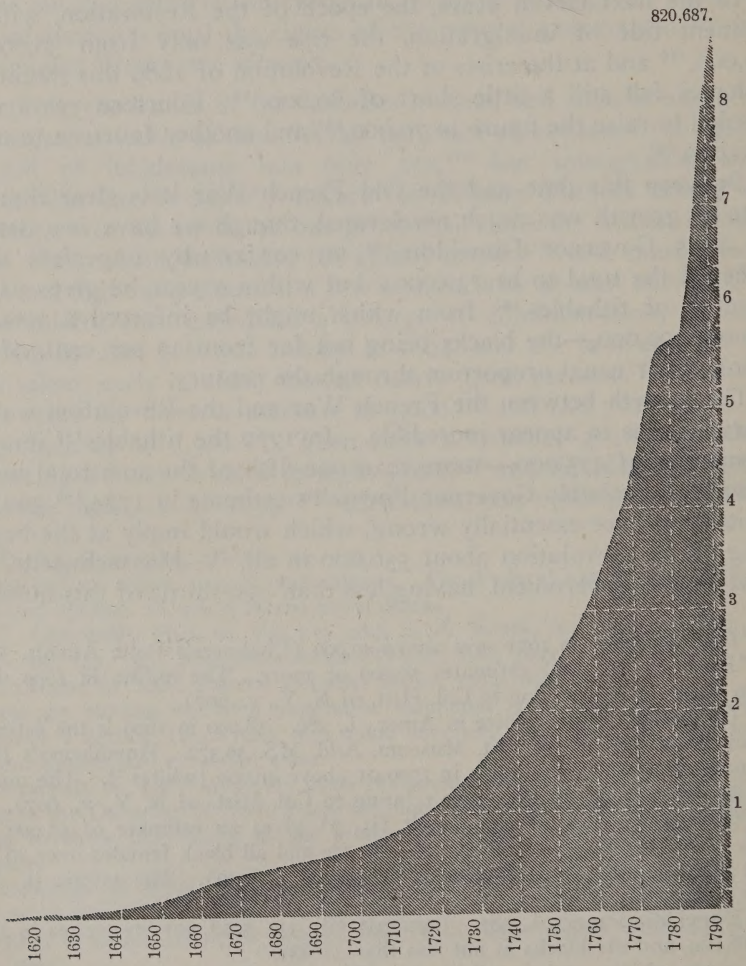
[184] 43,329 whites, and 60,078 blacks (Dinwiddie Papers, ii., 353, 474, 532). Neill's English Colonization in America, 67, reports the population in 1757 as 44,214 whites, and 58,292 blacks; but these are the tithables.

[185] 153,000 (Jefferson's Notes, in Works, viii., 329).

[186] John Adams's Works, viii., 329.

[187] The extravagant estimate of Congress in 1774 was 640,000 (J. Adams's Works, vii., 302); J. F. D. Smyth, in his Tour in U. S. (i., 72), suggests about 500,000 as more correct, but supposes that of these near two-thirds were blacks.

In 1782 an incomplete census was made, the result of which, conjecturally modified, gives 567,000,[188] and the census of 1790 mounts up for Virginia proper, with the newly organized district of Kentucky, to a total of over 820,000,[189] in which the blacks still held

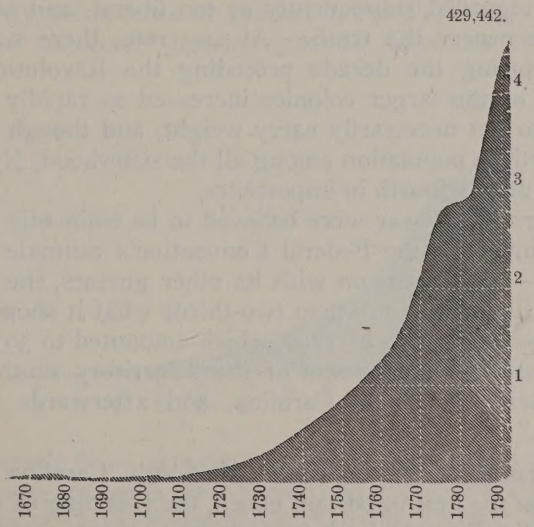


nearly their old ratio of 40 per cent. It is noticeable that although elsewhere much more in excess of the whites, in no other colony did the colored element increase in that century with anything like the rapidity shown here.

[188] Jefferson's Notes, in Works, viii., 332, 333.
[189] Virginia, 747,610, and Kentucky, 73,077.

In North Carolina, most backward in many respects of the original colones, there was no enumeration of the inhabitants before 1790. We grope our way, therefore, in much uncertainty.

When a charter was secured by Clarendon and his associates in 1663, it is supposed that there may have been 300 families[190] in the Albemarle region, later known as North Carolina. Secretary Miller on his arrival in 1677 reported the tithables in this district as 1,400[191] from which Dr. Hawks infers[192] from 2,500 to 3,000 people; adding to these the colonists at Cape Fear,[193] Mr. Bancroft[194]



estimates the whole as hardly 4,000. Rebellion, anarchy, and the removal of the Cape Fear settlers, reduced the tithables by 1694 to 787,[195] implying a total of under 2,000.

The next highest point must have been on the eve of the Indian outbreak in 1711,[196] and after the setback which this caused we get a glimpse of the new rate of progress in the fact of not over 2,000 tithables, or at the utmost a population of 10,000 in 1717.[197] From

[190] Rivers, in Winsor's Hist. of Amer., v., 305.
[191] Chalmers's Polit. Annals, 533.
[192] Hist. of N. C., ii., 469.
[193] 800 in 1666 (Hawks, ii., 453).
[194] i., 425.
[195] Rivers, in Winsor's Hist., v., 305.
[196] Hawks thinks (Hist., ii., 89) there were then less than 7,000; judging from the official estimate, in 1715, of 7,500 whites and 3,750 blacks. Humphreys's Hist. Account of S. P. G. says over 5,000 whites in 1701.
[197] Williamson's Hist. of N. C., i., 207, or Hawks, ii., 89. Col. Saunders estimates 9,000, in Col. Records, ii., xvii.

this date, and especially from the transfer of government to the Crown, the numbers multiplied much more rapidly. A comparison of Governor Burrington's assertion that in 1732[198] the whites were full 30,000 and the negroes about 6,000, with the militia roll,[199] more than justifies Mr. Bancroft's conjecture[200] of 90,000 in 1754. Ten years later we have about 135,000 as the estimate of Governor Dobbs,[201] certainly not an excessive one; but details of the later strides towards repletion are wanting. In 1774 the estimate of Congress was 300,000;[202] but this, like all the estimates of that session, was regarded subsequently as too liberal, and probably 260,000[203] was nearer the truth. At any rate, there was surprising progress during the decade preceding the Revolution, in which time none of the larger colonies increased as rapidly as this; but numbers do not necessarily carry weight, and though at the Revolution fourth in population among all the sisterhood, North Carolina was by no means fourth in importance.

The years of the war were believed to be eminently disastrous to her growth,[204] and the Federal Convention's estimate in 1787 was 224,000,[205]—in comparison with its other guesses, the most grossly deficient of them all, less than two-thirds what it should have been, as shown by the census of 1790, which amounted to 393,751, besides 35,691 classed as inhabitants of the "Territory south-west of the Ohio, hitherto in North Carolina, and afterwards the State of Tennessee."

The permanent development of South Carolina dates from 1760, and at the first important epoch, the founding of Charleston in 1680, the district contained from 1,000 to 1,200 souls,[206] while the impulse contributed by the new capital more than doubled[207] the number in the next two years. Some basis for a judgment is furnished by a Report of the notorious Edward Randolph, as agent for the Board of Trade, who professed to find in 1699 near 1,500

[198] Saunders, Col. Records, ii., xvii. Martin's estimate (Hist. of N. C., 302, 303) of not over 10,000 in 1729, adopted by Hawks (ii., 103), is absurdly low.

[199] 15,400 in 1753 (Rivers, in Winsor's Hist., v., 304).

[200] 70,000 whites and 20,000 blacks (ii., 390, 391). The British government estimated in 1749 45,000 whites (Pitkin's Statist. View, 2d ed., 12).

[201] Rivers, in Winsor's Hist., v., 305.

[202] John Adams's Works, vii., 302.

[203] Tucker's Hist. of U. S., i., 96, and Johnston's School Hist., 93. Wanting little of 300,000 in 1776, says W. C. Kerr, in Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., xvii., 562.

[204] Cf. J. F. D. Smyth's Tour in U. S., i., 235.

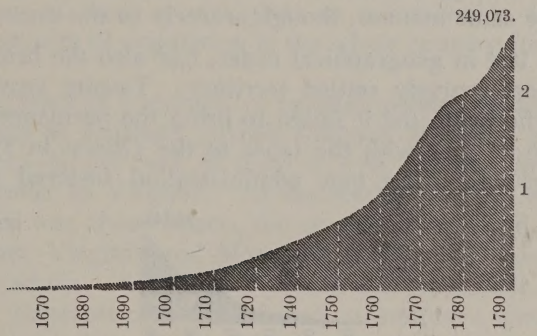
[205] Curtis's Hist. of the Constitution, ii., 168.

[206] T. Ash, in Carroll's Hist. Collections, ii., 82.

[207] Ibid.

whites of military age, and four times as many negroes.[208] This is strikingly inconsistent with a report by the Governor and Council in 1708, placing the whites at about 4,000, and the blacks at 5,500.[209] Probably, as the interests of the two parties were directly opposed, the agent's representations need to be scaled down, and those of the Colony officials to be magnified. It is clear that already the negroes with the Indians were outnumbering the whites, and henceforth the negroes multiply with startling celerity.

The war which broke out in 1715 scattered the Indian tribes and checked slightly the process of growth in the Province, which then numbered over 16,000;[210] but by 1720 the Governor could report 20,000.[211]



With the revolt from proprietary rule in 1719 began a distinctly more prosperous era, as is clear from Governor Glenn's rather generous estimate of 32,000[212] population, five years later. This occurs in a Description of the Province, written in 1749, which supplies also our next data, namely, whites nearly 25,000, and negroes at

[208] Rivers's Sketch of Hist. of S. C., 443. Hewatt's Hist. Account (Carroll's Hist. Collections, i., 132) says 5-6,000 whites, about 1,700. Humphrey's Hist. Account of S. P. G. (25), in 1701, says above 7,000 whites.

[209] 9,580 in all (Rivers's Sketch, 232). Oldmixon's Brit. Empire in America, 1708, quoted in Carroll's Hist. Coll., ii., 460, says 12,000.

[210] In 1714, 10,000 slaves (Rivers's Sketch, 251) and about 6,300 whites (*do.*, Supplement, 92). A British estimate for 1715 was 6,250 whites and 10,500 blacks (Chalmers's Hist. of the Revolt, ii., 7).

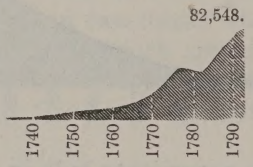
[211] In Rivers's Sketch, Supplement, 19, 20, 92, 101, are two sets of returns for the whites in 1720,—one 6,400, and one about 9,000; the slaves are 11,828.

[212] Whites, about 14,000 (Carroll's Hist. Coll., ii., 261). Bryant and Gay's Popular Hist. (iii., 107) estimates 6-7,000 and about 22,000 slaves in 1730. Purry's Description, in 1731 (Carroll's Hist. Coll., ii., 129), says over 40,000 negroes. Von Reck's Journal, 1734 (Force's Tracts, iv., 9), computes 30,000 negroes and four negroes to one white. These slave estimates all seem too high.

least 39,000,[213]—considerably below the total in North Carolina for the same year.

The next complete figures are those of Dr. George Milligan, in 1763, from 30,000 to 40,000 whites and about 70,000 slaves.[214] Ten years later the militia were about 13,000 (implying five times as many whites) and the negroes about 110,000,[215] which makes the highest point reached before the Revolution, still under 200,000. One result of the war was that, whereas for generations previous the blacks had outnumbered the whites so largely, the wholesale exodus of negroes under the auspices of the British reversed this proportion of the races in the census of 1790, which gave 140,178 whites and 108,895 blacks. North Carolina and Virginia had suffered in the same manner, though scarcely to the same degree.

Georgia, last in geographical order, had also the briefest history, and the most sparsely settled territory. Twenty years under the Trustees who projected it failed to bring the permanent population up to 5,000;[216] but with the lapse to the Crown in 1752 began a healthier growth. The new administration fostered slavery, and



Governor Wright found in 1760 less than 6,000 whites and perhaps half as any blacks;[217] in 1766 he reported near 10,000 whites and 8,000 blacks;[218] and in 1773 over 18,000 whites and 15,000 blacks.[219]

[213] Carroll's Hist. Coll., ii., 218; the whites are estimated from the militia (about 5,000), and the negroes are those reported for taxation, probably not a full return. The British Government estimated, the same year, 30,000 whites (Pitkin's Statist. View, 2d ed., 12). In 1741, the Impartial Enquiry concerning Georgia (Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections, i., 167) says not over 5,000 whites and at least 40,000 blacks. Bancroft (ii., 390, 391) says in 1754 40,000 whites and full as many negroes.

[214] Description of S. C., in Carroll's Hist. Coll., ii., 478-79.—There was 5,500 militia (whites) in 1756 (Gov. Lyttleton, in Winsor's Hist. of Amer., v., 335), and 6,200 in 1758 (Gov. Lyttleton, in Pres. Ezra Stiles's MSS.). Hewatt estimates in 1765 near 40,000 whites and 80-90,000 negroes (Carroll's Hist. Coll., i., 503).

[215] Wells's S. C. Register for 1774, quoted in Winsor's Hist., v., 335.

[216] Whites about 2,700 and blacks about 1,700, in 1752 (Jones's Hist. of Ga., i., 460).

[217] *do.*, ii., 73.

[218] *do.*, i., 460.

[219] *do.*, ii., 522.

At this rate of increase the total in 1776 was probably from 45,000 to 50,000,[220] or double the number of seven years before. In the times of invasion Georgia like her neighbors suffered a diminution of her negroes,[221] and the war reduced her grand total below the figures of 1776; but she rallied by 1790 to the much higher sum of 82,548, of which the whites made near two-thirds. In one respect, however, she was singularly misrepresented, being overestimated in the Federal Convention of 1787 at nearly half as much again as her real amount of population, while the rest of the colonies were underestimated considerably,—the total of the Convention's figures falling short of the reality by more than half a million.

A summary of these results gives us a reasonably approximate view of the growth of population in the whole country for the period before 1790.

In the first third of a century, or by 1640, when Parliament gained the ascendency in England, British America contained a little over 25,000 whites,—60 per cent. of them in New England, and the most of the remainder in Virginia. At the Restoration of monarchy in 1660, the total was about 80,000, the greatest gain being in the most loyal divisions, Virginia and Maryland, which now comprehended one-half the whole. At the next epoch, the Protestant Revolution of 1689, Mr. Bancroft concludes[222] that our numbers were not much beyond 200,000, and the figures I have presented give about 206,000; in this increase one large factor was due to the Middle Colonies, which now for the first time assumed importance, numbering already nearly half as many as New England.

A round half-million appears to have been reached about 1721, with the Middle Colonies showing again the largest percentage of growth, and New England the least. A million followed in twenty-two years more, or 1743, this figure being doubled in turn twenty-four years later, or in 1767,—the latter reduplication being delayed a little, doubtless, by the effect of intervening wars.

In the Congress of 1774 the colonists ventured for the first time on a guess at their own strength, their estimate being a little over three millions;[223] but the true number cannot have been much more than two millions and a half, and this in turn was the double of the figure reached about twenty-three years before, which period is the usual time of doubling shown by our later censuses down to the date of the Civil War.

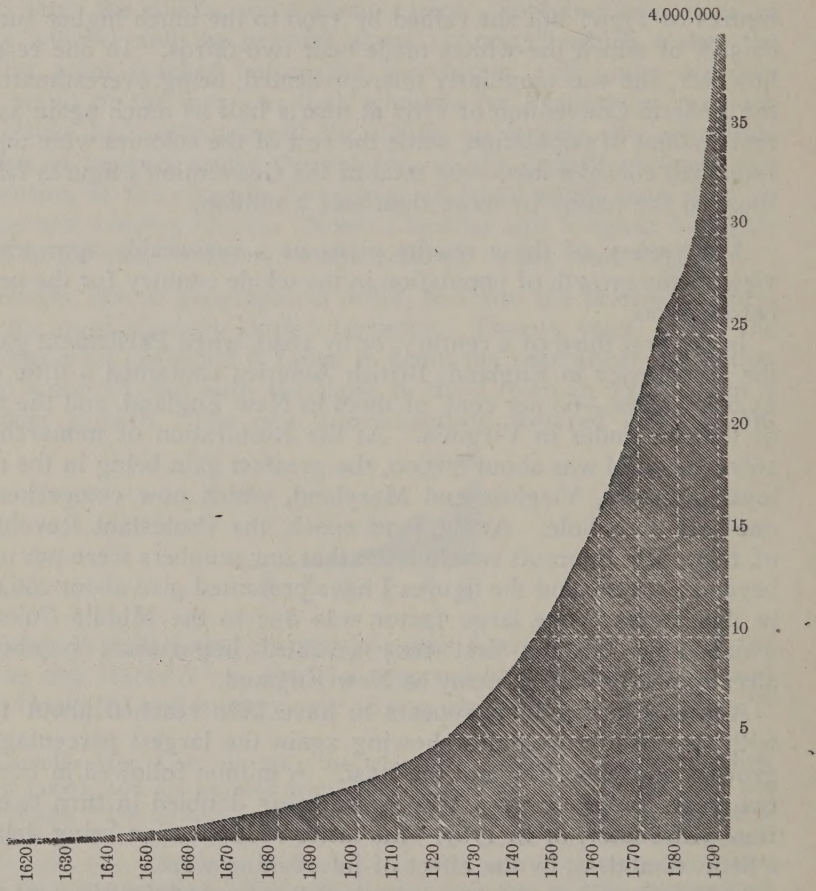
[220] Bancroft estimates (iv., 181) in 1775 about 17,000 whites and 15,000 blacks.

[221] Jones's Hist. (ii., 522) queries whether in 1782 she had over 35,000 inhabitants.

[222] i., 608.

[223] John Adams's Works, vii., 302.

These results differ slightly from those approved by Mr. Bancroft in his last edition, who exceeds my estimates from 1750 to 1770[224] by amounts varying from 50,000 to 100,000, or from 4 to 5 per cent. of the totals.



[224] Bancroft (ii., 390) quotes Chalmers's estimates of 434,600 in 1714, 580,000 in 1727, 1,485,634 in 1754; I should assume at these dates, 400,000, 600,000 and 1,360,000, respectively. For himself he gives 1,260,000 in 1750, 1,425,000 in 1754, 1,695,000 in 1760, 2,312,000 in 1770, and 2,945,000 in 1780; for this last date, E. B. Elliott, in Walker's Statistical Atlas of U. S. (1874), computes the total as in round numbers 3,070.000. My own figures are, for 1750, 1,207,000; for 1760, 1,610,000; for 1770, 2,205,000; for 1775, 2,580,000; and for 1780, 2,780,000. The published figures of the census of 1790 (3,929,214) do not include Vermont or the territory northwest of the Ohio, which would bring the total above 4,000,000.

THOMAS CLAP AND HIS WRITINGS.

[From the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Vol. V., 1894. Read Nov. 25, 1889.] The Club. Dec 18. 1889.

One hunded and fifty years ago the present month, or more exactly on Wednesday, November 11th, 1739, New Style, nine ministers who then held the office of Trustees of the Collegiate School of Connecticut, commonly called Yale College, met by adjournment in the Library at the south end of the College Hall, which occupied part of the site of the new Osborn Hall, on College street, and there, with the Rev. Samuel Whitman, of Farmington, the Senior Trustee present, in the chair, and the Rev. Samuel Cooke, of Bridgeport, as Scribe, took the action which was thus entered on their records:—"The Trustees, proceeding after much deliberation to the Choice of a meet Person to fill up the vacant Rectorate by Vote made choice of the Rev^{d} M^{r} Thomas Clap of Windham for the Rector of this College, in the Room of M^{r} Rector Williams, who hath resigned."

My interest has been recently drawn anew to a consideration of President Clap's work for the College, and especially to an examination of what is left of his writings; and the occurrence of this 150th anniversary of his election as Rector has prompted me to attempt to recall in this audience the story of his life and influence.

It is not merely the story of an inconspicuous pre-Revolutionary divine, whose life has never been written, and whose literary labors gained no public fame even in his own generation; if this were all, there would be little excuse for recalling him to the judgment of our day; but the time and the place in which his work was set constituted a special opportunity. The dates of his service as head of Yale College, 1739 to 1766, include the most fruitful period of the College history in its first century, and the formative period of that generation of Americans which prepared the way for and ushered in the Revolution; as widely as the influence of Yale men was felt in that crisis, so widely were the principles he had implanted and illustrated, the leading ideas of his mind, diffused and developed; and it is this perpetuation of his influence in a critical time upon his pupils and upon the College that gives its chief interest to a study of what he thought and what he wrote.

The events of his life were few and simple. He was born, of unmixed Puritan ancestry, in Scituate, Massachusetts, one of the earliest Plymouth Colony towns, on June 26th, 1703, in the second year of the reign of Queen Anne, which was the second year also of the chartered existence of Yale College, and three months before the birth of his great contemporary, Jonathan Edwards.

He was not, however, so precocious as Edwards, being graduated at Harvard in 1722, when Edwards was already two years out of College and actively employed as a preacher. Clap took a longer course of theological study, and just at the close of the year 1725 began to supply the pulpit in the town of Windham, Connecticut, where he was ordained pastor in the following summer.

This, his first and only parish, was hardly to be reckoned as one of the older towns of the Colony, not having been effectively settled until 1691, and so only a dozen years older than the young minister himself.

There he remained for 14 years, or from the 23d to the 37th year of his life, devoted to his calling, and with little opportunity of public reputation. From the Windham Church he was called to the rectorate of Yale College, and his work here for a quarter of a century finished his active career.

For a detailed illustration of that career I propose to take up his writings, in order, with the suggestions which they furnish of the character and value of his work.

Chronologically, the first of President Clap's compositions, whether in manuscript or print, of any consequence, seems to be a brief, undated manuscript, entitled "Some Considerations tending to put an End to the Differences that have been, about Singing by Rule." This takes us back to the controversy which raged in New England in the decade from 1720 to 1730, respecting the introduction into public worship of what was styled "regular singing," or singing by rule, or by note,—as opposed to a helter-skelter method of singing by rote, without any written music before the eye, in which each singer followed largely his own notions of time and tune, while the leader of the singing was especially responsible for the impress of his personal peculiarities on the whole body. This essay, written most probably while Clap was a divinity student at Cambridge, about 1725, is a plea for the reformation of the disorder into which the New-England congregations had fallen in this respect, and for the substitution of regular musical training.

The argument is arranged in an orderly way, and some historical matter is introduced. The writer takes high ground in assuming that it is the duty of all persons to sing, as a part of public worship,

"but all cannot sing by rote, and therefore they must sing by rule, for God does not *obliege* men to impossibilities." The final point in favor of his thesis is emphasized by clinching it with a text from the Epistle to the Philippians, "Let us walk by the same Rule." Evidently, if Clap were now in authority, we should find him a hearty supporter of the scheme for a Department of Music in the College.

If this exercise on a question regarding the order and beauty of public worship is the only memorial of his time of preparation for the ministry, so a single witness is all that remains to his mental activity in the proper sphere of his work in the next stage of his career, as a settled preacher. Midway in his pastoral service in Windham, he delivered a sermon at the ordination of a minister in the neighboring parish of Colchester, in September, 1732; this was published in Boston the same year, and is the sole example in print of his gifts as a sermonizer; perhaps it is hardly possible or fair to judge him from a single specimen.

The doctrine developed is that no man is of himself sufficient for the work of the ministry, or as stated in the title prefixed to the Discourse, "The Greatness and Difficulty of the Work of the Ministry, and the Insufficiency of humane Abilities for it;" and in the light of the author's personal experience the most significant touch is the special enlargement on the difficulty in the minister's position in administering discipline. Local traditions make it certain that Clap was conspicuous in his neighborhood for the severity and thoroughness of his dealings with offenders in the membership of the church; and this reputation was avowedly one ground for his selection as Rector of the College. One case of discipline with which he was troubled in 1737 is notable as perhaps the latest recorded instance in Connecticut history of a charge of witchcraft seriously brought,—a charge to which Clap seems to have half yielded credence.

The passage on Church discipline in his printed Sermon is noticeable also as expressing some dissatisfaction with the Congregational way, as having "few or no stated and known rules" on such subjects, and intimating to this extent a preference for Presbyterianism,—that is, a desire to vest all disciplinary power in a board of elders, instead of in the general body of the Church. And the whole furnishes an illustration of the well-understood division among the ministers of that century in Connecticut and Massachusetts on questions of church-government. To show how differently this particular question presents itself in different generations, Clap's strictures may be compared instructively with a remarkable sermon

on "The Authority of those who watch for souls," preached by President Woolsey on a similar occasion in 1850, which as originally published contained a passage (afterwards withdrawn) suggesting that the minister ought to have a veto on all votes of the church for the admission of new members, and also on all action for the discipline of accused members.

Another interesting point in the "Improvement" of Clap's sermon is his emphasis on the necessity for "the best advantages of learning and education" for ministers, and furthermore on their being "so well supported as to have wherewithal to furnish themselves with good libraries." This was of good omen in the consideration of his name a few years later for the place of Rector of the College of the Colony.

The original records which Clap kept as pastor have perished; but copies exist of a few of the acts of the Windham Church under his leadership, which show his notion of the scope of his office. There is a copy, for instance, of a vote, evidently drawn by him, in 1728, two years after his ordination, for the constitution of a board of representatives of the church, selected especially to assist in matters of church discipline, with the preamble, "Whereas the work and business of the Pastor of a Church is very great and extensive, and particularly the enquiring into Public Scandals and procuring evidence thereof is laborious and burthensome if left to the Pastor alone, and whereas the Scripture informs us that God has set some in the Church to be helps in the government, Voted that it shall be the work of the Representatives of the Brethren," etc. There is also preserved in the church-books an interesting Charge given by him at the ordination of Deacons in 1729.

The church at his settlement numbered 264 persons; to whom 219 more were added during the nearly fourteen years of his service.

The incident which, beyond any other, brought him in these years into prominence was one which for the time connected him with Jonathan Edwards in the defence of New England orthodoxy.

In 1734 Mr. Robert Breck, a young Harvard graduate, was called to the pastorate of the Church in Springfield, Massachusetts. He had preached for a time under Clap's eye in an outlying parish of Windham, where his theology was brought in question; and now in Springfield like questions were raised, and Edwards among the neighboring ministers, and Clap among the witnesses to his former career, were especially prominent in an unsuccessful effort to prevent his settlement, and in the remonstrances which followed. It is interesting in the light of modern opinion to note that one point

attacked in Mr. Breck was his declaring, "What will become of the heathen who never heard of the gospel I do not pretend to say, but I cannot but indulge in a hope that God, in his boundless benevolence, will find out a way whereby those heathen who act up to the light they have may be saved."

The Breck controversy was abundant in points of interest; but it concerns our present purpose only as helping in a marked degree to draw attention to Clap and his attitude as a strong, aggressive champion of the orthodox faith. Each of the pamphlets in opposition to Mr. Breck contained copious quotations from affidavits and letters by Clap,—amounting in all to near twenty pages of print. These extracts leave on the modern reader an impression of Clap at the age of 32 as a bold and vigorous disputant, sincere if narrow in his personal creed, and jealously vigilant in his scrutiny of the orthodoxy of his neighbors. It is pleasant to add that Mr. Breck proved to be a most useful and acceptable minister, through a long life, and that so far from bearing any malice he sent his two sons to Yale to be pupils of Clap, rather than to his own Alma Mater.

Rector Williams, then at the height of his usefulness as the head of Yale College, was also an active participant in the Breck controversy, on the same side as Clap; he was present in Springfield when Mr. Breck was examined, and his "radiant countenance" over some discomfiture of the Breck party was made note of; and thus in one way which we can definitely trace, Clap's prominence as a champion of sound doctrine was brought to the notice and sympathetic approval of one influential person in the College circle.

In 1739 came the call to New Haven. His wife, Mary Whiting, to whom he had been married soon after his ordination, had died in 1736; and it is clear from the private Memoirs which he wrote for his children that her death had so broken up his life as to make him welcome any change of scene, and especially a change which so varied and enlarged his field of usefulness. Like all country parishes, the Windham parish was a scattered and rambling one, containing near 800 souls, and needing great expenditures of time and strength for any apparent results; while the College society numbered less than a hundred persons, compactly gathered—about two-thirds of them in the single College building, and the remainder in the near neighborhood—and all in the formative period, most susceptible to impressions, and surrounded by a community above the average level of intelligence and stimulating influence.

As has been stated, Clap was chosen Rector, in place of Williams, resigned, in November, 1739, and a committee appointed for the purpose visited him a few days later and secured his provisional

acceptance. In December a council dismissed him from his pastoral charge, and towards the end of that month he made a journey to New Haven, where he was received, as he has recorded, with tokens of respect and joy by the three tutors (one of whom was Chauncey Whittelsey, afterwards pastor of the First Church in New Haven) and by the students; but through some inattention no committee of the Corporation was present to induct him into office; and this, as he puts it, made some talk in the country. I do not suppose that this can have been an intended slight, but merely some oversight or miscalculation. At the same time, it is proper to say that there cannot have been entire cordiality of feeling in the result of the election. A later pamphlet states as a fact that certain votes were not cast for Clap but for another person; and it is well known that the Trustees were prevailingly, if not exclusively, Arminian, and Clap was a decided Calvinist. He continued to preach in Windham most of the time until the following April, when the ceremony of his inauguration took place.

After this event his first appearance in print, so far as I have noticed, was in September, 1741, when he, in connection with Deacon John Punderson and four other brethren of the First Church in New Haven, published in a Boston paper a report of a conference which they had held with Mr. James Davenport, the crazy revivalist, respecting his denunciations of the Rev. Joseph Noyes, of New Haven. Davenport's erratic course was a trial to all friends of the established churches in the Colony, and Clap was consistent with all his previous history in supporting the New Haven pastor against such attempts to discredit his influence and draw off a separate congregation.

In connection with the College perhaps his first publication was in 1743, when he issued a catalogue, prepared by himself, of the Library, then containing about 2600 volumes. The undertaking itself and the spirit of the accompanying directions are equally characteristic of the man and his methods. The Library was well worth cataloguing, but no one but a painstaking, methodical scholar would have devoted himself to the task; and as a witness to his interests, and a commentary on his notion of the meaning of the College course, the plan of studies recommended in the Preface is important. His advice is: "In the First Year to study principally the Tongues, Arithmetic, and Algebra; the Second, Logic, Rhetoric,[225] and Geometry; the Third, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; and the Fourth, Ethics and Divinity." The plan is evidence enough of the author's special fondness for Mathematics. "Other less prin-

[225] Clap introduced Declamations into the College in 1751.

cipal studies," he continued, "may be occasionally intermixed with these. Above all have an Eye to the great End of all your Studies, which is to obtain the Clearest Conceptions of Divine things and to lead you to a Saving Knowledge of God in his Son Jesus Christ."

To the year 1745—the year in which he also carried through the Legislature a new and remarkably satisfactory charter for the College, belong four separate publications, all on controversial themes.

Two of these were due to an unfortunate misunderstanding between Clap and his great contemporary, Jonathan Edwards, about an alleged scheme of Whitefield's. Clap insisted that Edwards had told him of a design Whitefield had, to supplant the general run of ministers here by others from across the water; and Edwards acknowledged to having expressed to some of his friends, though not to Clap, a suspicion of Whitefield's aiming to persuade people to forsake what he called an unconverted ministry. Clap seems to have confused what he had heard at second-hand from Edwards with what Edwards had personally told him; but the general drift of his indictment was substantially admitted by Edwards. Each of the disputants was honest, and each was in some sense in the right, so that the chief significance of the incident for us is the light thrown on Clap's attitude towards Whitefield and the measures of revival and reformation which he and Edwards favored.

Contributing to the same end is a third paper, simultaneously published by Clap: "The Declaration of the Rector and Tutors of Yale College against the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, his Principles and Designs, in a Letter to him,"—which was mainly a protest against his attitude towards the majority of the New-England ministers, and his slanders upon the colleges as not fit to supply proper candidates for the sacred office. If a modern illustration may be ventured, the situation, as Clap and others like him conceived it, was to some extent just a reversal of the situation in the American Board of to-day (or of yesterday), where the Prudential Committee are said to have had recourse to Canada and to the ministry of other denominations for recruits in the mission-field, because of alleged deficiencies in orthodoxy in the New-Theology men and Radicals at home. In the case of a hundred and fifty years ago it was the New Lights, the Radicals of that day, however, who threatened (as some believed) to bring in orthodox helpers from abroad; while the conservative party, intrenched in the churches and colleges, objected to the regular candidates and the established ministry being branded as untrustworthy. But I must allow that Clap seems in these pamphlets to have been over-credulous of evil reports and surmises concerning Whitefield, and deaf to what was to be said in his favor.

Another controversy, more directly affecting the college, belongs to the same year. In January, 1745, the two Cleaveland brothers, one a Senior and one a Freshman, were expelled from college for refusing to confess that they had been in the wrong in attending during a vacation with their parents what were called Separate Meetings, or meetings of Separatists, conducted by laymen in a private house, which were illegal by the Colony statutes. In April Clap appeared in print briefly in a New-York newspaper, giving the official account of the affair, and later in the year he published in pamphlet form, "The Judgment of the Rector and Tutors concerning the case and the reasons of it." The same principles were really at issue, as in the case of his previous deliverances,—Separate churches and congregations being one form of the Whitefieldian protest against an unconverted ministry, and Clap being fully committed by the part he had assumed in support of the Colony laws against such meetings, and in opposition to a division in the First Church here.

An interval now ensued, of 8 or 9 years, during which in the opinion of his contemporaries, the President's principles underwent a striking change; and in 1754, when Clap was 51 years of age, began a period of greater literary activity. Up to this date his publications had been ephemeral in origin and slight in texture; circumstances now led him to propound and defend certain theses connected with college government, on which he expended henceforth his best powers.

Just at this time he found himself pressed by two distinct lines of opposition, the confutation of which he combined in a pamphlet entitled, "The Religious Constitution of Colleges, especially of Yale College."

The few Church-of-England families in New Haven were first supplied with a resident missionary in the year 1753, and one of the first acts of that missionary, the Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, in November, 1753, was to demand of the President that the Episcopal students in college (who may have been eight or ten in number,—two of them being Mr. Punderson's own sons) might be allowed to attend regularly on Sundays at the Episcopal church just built, from which Church street takes its name. Clap refused to grant the desired permission, except for special occasions; he was pledged to this course, one would think, by his previous record as a champion of the regular parish church and an opponent of Separate congregations. But he followed this refusal, in the same month, with a step which could not fail to be challenged as inconsistent, namely, the establishment of separate worship within college walls, and the

consequent withdrawal of *all* the students from the Sunday services of what had been accepted hitherto, from the beginning of the college here, as their parish church, that is, the old First Church of New Haven. I speak of this action as Clap's, and he was unquestionably the responsible instigator of it; but it was formally taken (not without serious opposition) in a meeting of the Yale Corporation, at which Mr. Noyes, Pastor of the New Haven Church, and one of the Fellows of the College, was present and acted as he usually did as scribe.

By this move Clap and the College government were exposed to abundant criticism; which the President undertook to meet, in the early months of 1754, with the vigorous pamphlet of which I have cited the title. It is true that the initial steps for the creation of a Professorship of Divinity in the College had been taken some eight years before; but the anticipation of *that* measure by the formation of a separate College congregation seems to have been brought about at the last by the new demand in behalf of the Episcopalian students; and Clap's pamphlet defence accordingly covers the demand as well as the other points.

The main reason of the change was, as I suppose everyone knew, Clap's dissatisfaction with the doctrine and the preaching of Pastor Noyes; but as Mr. Noyes was a prominent (and with one exception the senior) member of the College Corporation, this could hardly be stated in print; so that the pamphlet is silent on this head, and seeks to defend the proceeding on general grounds, elaborating the theory that a college is a religious society and quasi-parish,—not merely on a par with Mr. Noyes's parish, but (in Clap's language) "of a superior, more general, and more important nature,"—and that the Corporation cannot trust the choice of religious instructors and the quality of religious instruction for the student to any other agency.

I said the pamphlet was silent as to Mr. Noyes's unsatisfactoriness; there is, however, one allusion to the state of feeling which had grown up in the town, and had caused the formation of what is now the United Church, where it speaks of the Corporation having contemplated for some time the foundation of a Professorship of Divinity, and of their "being of late years more sensible of the necessity of it from the unhappy, divided circumstances of New Haven." In his History of the College, which was not published until after Mr. Noyes's death, Clap allowed himself the further latitude of stating that, at the time the students were made into a separate congregation, "the College was in danger of being infected with Errors."

In the pamphlet we are considering the President shows that he has studied his subject carefully; in particular he exhausts the legal authorities at his command in proof of his positions, so that his pages fairly bristle with references to Statutes of the Realm, and of the English universities, to Law Dictionaries, and to standard histories. The writer is led by the exigencies of his case to take high ground as to the origin and purpose of Yale College, in saying that "the great design of founding this School was, to educate ministers in our own way"; and it is in connection with this declaration that he insists on a denial of any peculiar claims of Churchmen to attendance at their own place of worship.

Belonging also to this year—an interlude in the list of weightier matters—is one of the few extant indications (so far as I am informed) of President Clap's work as a preacher after his coming to New Haven: namely, the brief manuscript notes made for use in delivering a sermon in the College Hall on Thanksgiving Day, the second Wednesday in November, 1754. The Rev. Naphtali Daggett was not elected to the new Professorship of Divinity until ten months later, and meantime the President was in charge of the college pulpit. One is tempted to read his sermon-notes the more critically as in the pamphlet last noticed he had enlarged on the special care to be taken that the preaching in College should be "of the best kind."

Judging by this sample the President's homilies were altogether simple and clear. He confines himself to expounding one of the Psalmist's most familiar exhortations to thanksgiving, and after developing the general doctrine of gratitude, makes the application personal to his hearers. It may be proper here to quote what his colleague, Professor Daggett, said of him in his funeral sermon: "As a Preacher he was not of the florid, showy sort; but solid, grave, and powerful." I may also add that the fact that he was at no time honored with the commission to preach the Annual Election Sermon, before the Governor and Assembly, and the fact that only one of his occasional sermons was ever printed, go far to prove that he could not have been regarded as an eloquent or brilliant speaker.

Early in 1755 the first printing press ever brought to New Haven was set up near the junction of State street and Grand avenue by James Parker, and the first job which he undertook was an edition of the College Laws in Latin. The press had been provided as the result of an appeal by Clap to Benjamin Franklin, who had been decorated with the honorary degree of Master of Arts here a few months before, and who had in return a peculiarly friendly feeling towards the College. In April, 1755, the first newspaper published

in the Colony was here printed, and the Rev. Dr. Bacon has ventured the conjecture that Clap, as the projector of the enterprise which produced the newspaper, and as the chief literary man of the town, was probably engaged with the publisher in editing the paper; but so far as I know this was a mere conjecture. The early numbers of the *Connecticut Gazette* contain some editorial matter, and some correspondence which may likely enough have had an editorial origin, but I fail to recognize any traces of Clap's somewhat distinctive style.

The new press was employed, however, by the President during its first year for printing two pamphlets in the interest of his principles of administration.

One of these, which appeared late in April, 1755, was an anonymous Answer to an attack on the College just published and understood to be written by Dr. Benjamin Gale of Killingworth, a prominent lay-graduate and a son-in-law of Dr. Jared Eliot, the senior member of the corporation. The attack was aimed principally at the annual appropriation by the General Assembly of the colony for the benefit of the College; and Clap's Answer was a defence of this grant, which had already, in consequence of his organizing a College congregation, been seriously attacked in the assembly. Besides addressing himself to the matter professedly in hand, he detects Dr. Gale's further purpose (in which he was known to have his father-in-law, Dr. Eliot's, hearty support) to block the scheme for a Professorship of Divinity, and takes occasion to re-state his views, expressed the year before, on the necessarily religious constitution of Colleges. The absence of the author's name seems to any one familiar with Clap's usual style a very useless omission. It seems to me at least that the pamphlet from internal evidence could not possibly have been written without his having a hand in it. There are certain ear-marks which betray him plainly: as, for instance, a profuse reference to standard authorities on matters of university history,—such as Millar's[226] Account of Cambridge, Ayliffe's[226] Account of Oxford, and the Laws of the two English Universities; a statistical comparison of Yale College and other colleges (on pages 4 and 5) is also specially characteristic. The whole pamphlet was a weighty contribution to the current controversy, and will always be of permanent value in the history of the College; but it did not avail to persuade the General Assembly: the Lower House dissented, the next month,

[226] Neither of these two books was at this date in the Yale Library; but the Records of the Corporation of Harvard College in March, 1754, contain a vote allowing Clap to borrow them from the Harvard Library.

from the passage of the usual grant to the College, on the pretext of large current expenses on account of the French war, and it was never renewed. One explanation of this action, from the point of view of current theological parties, is that the deputies who were classed as "New Lights" were as they always had been, inimical to the College; while Clap had alienated the "Old Lights" (who were perhaps two-thirds of the Lower House) by setting up separate worship for which they dubbed him a "political New Light."

Clap's other publication of the same year, near its close, was entitled "A Brief History and Vindication of the Doctrines Received and Established in the Churches of New-England"; but the amount of New-England history supplied to the reader is disappointingly small, and the stream of narration speedily gives place to an account of the acts of the Corporation of Yale College at different times bearing on the protection of orthodoxy.

One especially prominent section is a defence of the practice of enforcing subscription on the part of College officers to catechisms or confessions of faith as tests of orthodoxy,—a practice which Clap's influence had imposed on the College in 1753, but one which his successor, Dr. Stiles, succeeded in repudiating in the main, though the last traces of it were not wiped out until 1823.

A letter of President Clap to Dr. Stiles, written a couple of months after this pamphlet had appeared, states that it has had considerable effect in New Haven, "for the First Parish have voted in the Catechism and Confession of Faith, which some had so long and so violently opposed;"—this action having been taken in connection with an attempt to secure Professor Daggett as a sort of colleague to Mr. Noyes (on January 26, 1756).

Later in the pamphlet comes a vindication of orthodox doctrines, with criticism of various past and present heresies. The writer whom our author seems to take most satisfaction in combating as a heretic is the Rev. Dr. John Taylor, author of the "Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin" (to which Jonathan Edwards wrote a reply), who seems to have been a special *bête noire* of Clap's, having also been gibbeted in the Answer to Dr. Gale.

An odd use was made of this same piece by Clap nearly a century after its original publication, when the Rev. Dr. Charles Hodge reprinted almost the whole of it in the *Princeton Review*, for July, 1839, with the purpose of endeavoring to show that the "New Scheme of Religion" of Dr. John Taylor and others, which Clap was engaged in denouncing, was in substance identical with Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor's doctrine and the New Haven Divinity in general under his lead.

Continuing our chronological view, I find next an Essay, in manuscript, dated 1757, entitled "The Ecclesiastical Constitution of Colleges under the Jewish and Christian Dispensations"; which is a further elaboration of the ideas already familiar to us in this survey, especially of this, that the word College in its usual acceptation meant originally a School of Ministers, and that historically Yale College was such. There is little in the essay of novelty or interest.

In 1760, in connection with current theological controversies a striking anonymous pamphlet was printed in New Haven, in the course of which an assault on the use of Confessions of Faith as tests of orthodoxy was pointed by a reference to Clap's attitude on that matter as declared five years before in his "Brief History and Vindication of Doctrines." The President was moved to prepare a reply, entitled "A Brief History and Vindication of Confessions of Faith," in which he defines the nature, ends, and uses of such documents, and vindicates them from the objections made; but another answer (by Dr. Bellamy) to the work he was reviewing, appeared more promptly in print, and his own was therefore left in manuscript as we have it.

Another manuscript of some interest is a rough draft of a letter, 12 folio pages in length, dated February, 1764, and addressed to some unnamed clerical correspondent,—perhaps a member of the Corporation. There had been for some years great uneasiness and disorder here among the students, and the President had administered severe discipline with a free hand; and this letter is an ingenious statement of considerations, pro and con, relating to a law proposed to be enacted by the Corporation, authorizing appeals to them by students for relief from the judgments of the President and Tutors. The letter is a suggestive commentary on the President's mode of managing discipline. The main point which he is aiming at—rather a fine one—is to prevent the sanction of a right of *appeal,* while allowing a right of petition; and the Corporation records show that he was successful; for the law as passed gives liberty merely of bringing a *petition,* and this only in case a rehearing before the Faculty has already been asked for. The question of a right of *appeal* was of course cognate to that which the President had recently argued on a much more notable occasion (in May, 1763), when a liberty of appeal to the General Assembly was urged on the part of disaffected members of the Corporation; and the claim of a right of visitation at the College inhering in the Legislature, which this right of appeal would involve, was triumphantly resisted by the President single-handed. His argument on that

occasion was printed later, in substance, in his Annals of the College (pp. 70-76); and among his papers is a manuscript copy of a more detailed and extended reply to the memorialists, which seems to have been formally presented to the Legislature.

To recur to the letter on this subject, as illustrating his principles of administration, he lays down "this general maxim of policy in Government, that the more perfect state of any Judicary or Polity is to have large numbers of good general rules to go by; and to act *pro hic et nunc* only in that case where they have not had wisdom, time or experience enough to fix upon more particular rules." In another place, "Upon the whole," he says, "I go upon this principle that in forming a wise plan of government, that shall be generally agreeable to mankind, we must go upon the same rules which they do, so far as our state is in common with or agreeable to theirs, and that we cannot easily or ought not easily and suddenly to act contrary to them; unless it be in those things which are peculiar to our Society [that is, the College,] and different from the state of all other Societies in the world, especially considering the old maxim that experience is the best schoolmaster." He is endeavoring of course to ground the proposed action on general principles of Law; few things delighted his mind so much as to trace a connection between his practice and the law of nature, or at least the Statute Law of England.

Another unprinted paper, dated four months later, deals with a kindred line of thought. This is entitled, "Some Observations relating to the Government of the College," and was read to the meeting of the Corporation in June, 1764, at which the law just referred to was passed. This paper comprises some general considerations respecting College government, and then proceeds to a classification of offences and an explanation of the grounds of punishment. I quote a few sentences from the exordium as giving from another point of view the President's theory of government: "Some persons have such a strong Propensity to Vice, Vanity and Disorder, as they will not be influenced by Religion, Reason, Duty, or any just motive of true interest or prospect of real good. Such persons must therefore be influenced or restrained from those things which are plainly detrimental to themselves or the Society by *fear of punishment or shame.* And perhaps there are but few who are so entirely good, without any mixture of the remainder of corruption, as not to need sometimes a mixture of fear, especially in such a company of giddy youth, where there are so many temptations and evil examples." In the course of the discussion, in referring to repetition of disorders as aggravating the offence, he

says: "The Corporation have never yet had time particularly to describe the several degrees of frequency or obstinacy with which crimes may be attended, and to affix particular punishments to each of them, and perhaps never will. Our laws are more particular in that matter [already] than the Laws of any other Colleges."

Still another manuscript of 1764 is a statement made by the President to the Corporation respecting the mysterious sickness which attacked over 80 students, more than half the whole College, one April morning in that year, and which was commonly reported, then and afterwards, to be due to poison introduced into the College Commons through the agency of some French people in town who were provoked by some pranks of the students. The President's account takes what appears to be the more rational view, that the incident was a form of protest against compulsory Commons by some of the more reckless among the students themselves, and was not a result of any poison, but some kind of strong physic administered, I should gather from one expression which he uses, with the connivance of French servants in the Commons kitchen. Certainly the testimony which he cites, that "one of the Scholars went to one of the Cooks on the Lord's Day and offered her a dollar if she would poison or physic the Commons again, provided she would let him know the time, and added that if it was done once more, then there would be an end of Commons," seems to shift the blame from the shoulders of the poor Acadian French.

In 1765 President Clap published what Dr. Stiles, one of his favorite pupils, and for thirteen years his amanuensis, pronounces his best piece of composition, and what was without doubt his most sustained effort of argument and abstract reasoning, namely, an "Essay on the Nature and Foundation of Moral Virtue and Obligation; being a Short Introduction to the Study of Ethics," for use as a text-book in College. It continued to be used through Dr. Stiles's day, that is, for 30 years after its publication, but probably no later; it was so brief that only about a fortnight, in the last part of Senior year, was needed to go through it. In the Preface the author proposes, if his life is spared and he has "some Relaxation from his present Multiplicity of Business," to publish a fuller treatise on the same subject; but the time thus described never arrived. He resigned his Presidency in September, 1766, just after passing his grand climacteric, and died in less than four months later.

A letter from the author to Dr. Stiles authorizes us to say that the special merit which he claimed for this Essay was that it set some points in a more clear and concise light than elsewhere; to

one who scans the pages now it seems a meagre and juiceless compend of familiar commonplaces of theological doctrine. There is nothing of the sprightliness and philosophical ingenuity of the Ethics by the Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, first President of Columbia College, published in 1752; and still less to compare with Jonathan Edwards's Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue, which appeared posthumously in the same year as Clap's Essay. In Clap's case the design of a text-book evidently interfered with all expansion of thought and freedom of expression.

The work by which Clap is best known in our day appeared just before his resignation of his office,—the Annals or History of Yale College, the Preface to which is dated March 1, 1766. That this History was deliberately written is evident from the fact that the College archives contain two earlier drafts, one made in 1747 and one in 1757. It is hardly necessary to characterize the work at length. It has the inestimable advantage of being the earliest account of our origins, and for this reason, if for no other, can never lose its interest or value. Besides its preservation of the previous history, the Appendix gives a particular account of the actual condition of the College at the time of writing, which is especially graphic and curious. The writer's plan confines him in the main to a bare statement of facts; it is rarely that he allows himself to suggest improvements, as he does on page 89, where he advocates a scheme of Special Honors, for scholars of distinguished attainments, including a descriptive phrase in the diploma, and so going beyond even what we have attained in the century and a quarter since. The book is uncritical in its treatment of portions of the earlier history, and tinged often by the writer's prejudices; but after all disparagements, taking its date into account, it is a satisfactory piece of work, much better than the circumstances would have given us the right to expect.

Only one posthumous publication demands notice,—a tract entitled "Conjectures upon the Nature and Motion of Meteors, which are above the Atmosphere." This brochure was copied from the author's manuscript by one of his later pupils, the Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin, while a tutor in College during the last year of Clap's life. Mr. Baldwin died in 1776, but this was printed from his copy at Norwich in 1781.

The late Professor Kingsley in his Sketch of the College suggested an occasion for the composition of this piece by quoting a sentence from Clap's Annals, where he says that "After Evening Prayers, the President frequently makes Dissertations upon various Subjects in Religion and Learning, and almost all the different Affairs and

Employments of Life." There is good reason, however, from its form and contents, to class this rather among the more ambitious fruits of Clap's private study; and in fact Dr. Stiles at the time of the President's death refers specifically to this as one of his most important scientific investigations; and a letter of Clap's which is extant, written in 1765, mentions having received intelligence from Peter Collinson, the well-known English friend of Franklin, to the effect that his Theory of Meteors had been read with approbation before the Royal Society.

The theory regards meteors as terrestrial comets, and computes their rate of motion after the same laws as the motion of solar comets. This general theory was retained here, as a tradition from Clap, and was adopted with approval by Professor Jeremiah Day in a paper on the Origin of Meteoric Stones, written after the fall of the famous Weston meteor in 1807, and published in the Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy in 1810. I believe that Professor Silliman also maintained the same theory for many years later in his College lectures.

Among the undated manuscripts of President Clap which I have seen I select three as worthy of special mention,—each being in a different way of interest.

One, entitled "Thoughts on the Present State of Religion," is mainly a defence of the system of Consociated Churches, and especially of Councils as managed by Consociations,—a system peculiar to Connecticut, and commended by Clap as "an excellent plan, collected from the word of God." From internal evidence it appears that this paper was composed during the last decade of the writer's life; but the principles on which it is based were much the same in effect as those with which he had identified himself in the case at Springfield thirty years before, where Mr. Breck's ordination was carried through by a council gathered from abroad, while the neighboring ministers were mostly in opposition.

The second of these pieces is an ingenious Discourse on the Propriety of using Natural instead of Artificial Light. An incidental allusion in this paper seems to fix the time of its composition before 1750, and the handwriting is certainly that of an early period. There is nothing to show the occasion of drawing up the discourse, which is far more theological than scientific in its argument; but I have little doubt that it is a specimen of those "dissertations upon various subjects in Religion and Learning," which the President was accustomed to give to the students after Evening Prayers; it would occupy from 20 to 25 minutes in delivery.

It may suffice to show the theological trend of the paper to mention that one of the two main propositions laid down is that "to neglect to make use of light of the sun and in the room of it to make an artificial light, is in its own nature a plain moral evil."

I have left until the last one of the most interesting of all these relics:—a manuscript given to the Yale Library in 1884 by the late Rev. Dr. Pitkin, of Detroit, a great-grandson of President Clap, and entitled "A Plan or Heads of a History of the Colony of Connecticut." This fragment is to be referred to the last months of the President's life, after he had resigned his office, and before death overtook him, when as we learn from his funeral-sermon by Professor Daggett, this furnished him with a favorite occupation.

The manuscript is what the title denotes,—merely an outline or heads of a proposed work; but the scheme proceeds far enough to have a decided interest and to show that with time and opportunity we might have had from this hand a worthy sketch of our colonial history, antedating by more than a generation our earliest published authority,—the history of Dr. Benjamin Trumbull.

And this manuscript recalls also the kindred circumstance that in 1759 President Clap induced the venerable Ex-Governor Roger Wolcott to draw up a narrative of what had fallen within his remembrance and observation, and what he had derived from others, of the history of the Colony, and that this manuscript also is still extant, in the Watkinson Library at Hartford.

I do not know that any details of the Clap manuscript are of enough separate value to be cited; it may be characteristic of the author that the first entry in his scheme is, "Religion the Design of the first Planters"; and it may be interesting to notice that he makes a special heading for the "Topographical Description of the Colony," with particulars of the several Counties, the principal Rivers, the principal Towns, their latitudes and longitudes, and their advantages and disadvantages with respect to trade; there is also a tempting heading, "The General Genius of the Inhabitants," and "The Advantages of their Privileges."

The manuscripts which I have thus imperfectly described by no means exhaust the list of those extant; but most of the rest are too fragmentary, too brief, or too disconnected, to serve my present purpose.

There are, I ought perhaps to add, a few volumes of College memoranda, containing chiefly details of the location of students in College rooms and in town, and accounts connected with the building of South Middle College and the Athenaeum,—interesting for other reasons, but not of much importance as contributions to

the history of Clap's mind or his influence. The formal records of the Corporation also, and those of the Faculty, contain many of his official utterances,—a class of writings which belong rather to the history of the College than to a notice of his personal career.

In the review of these materials one leading impression left on my mind is that with limited opportunities President Clap developed and cultivated to an unexpected extent an unusual variety of intellectual interests. To begin with, his attainments in mathematics, astronomy, and physics, placed him beyond doubt in the first rank of Americans in his generation. In quite another line, I question if any layman, or any professional contemporary, on this side the Atlantic, rivaled him in a knowledge of the history and the practice of the common law, the statute law, and the canon law of England, and of the history and usages of English and other Universities. In the wider domain of general history, both civil and ecclesiastical, his reading was unusually extensive, and the faculty of utilizing his knowledge was equally memorable. In the studies which more peculiarly belonged to his profession, such as divinity and ethics, he was, as everywhere else, an independent thinker, thoroughly furnished in the literature of the subject, and ready to answer for the doctrines which he held.

He had an important part in the training for public life of over 750 graduates of the College, including among a long list of men of valid claims to remembrance, such names as William Livingston, the War Governor, William Samuel Johnson, the framer of the Constitution, Pelatiah Webster, the political economist, Silas Deane, the diplomatist, Samuel Hopkins, the theologian, Ezra Stiles, the universal scholar, Samuel Seabury, the first American bishop, and Manasseh Cutler, the real author of the Ordinance of 1787. His pupil and colleague, Professor Daggett, says that "Instructing seemed to be the natural exercise and diversion of his mind"; and other testimony concurs in representing him as preëminently an effective teacher. In this way his direct influence was reflected in the lives of his pupils. And besides this, by the foundations which he laid or strengthened here, his influence has gone on, a distinct force in all our later development. It was by his efforts, from experience of the defects of the old Charter, that the Charter of 1745 under which the Collegiate School has grown into a University was in the first place framed, was then secured, and was later defended once for all from encroachment; and these labors, alone, simple as they may sound, yet critical for the life of the College in the very highest degree, entitle their hero to profound and enduring respect. I cannot see how, without such a broadening of chartered

powers at that date, the subsequent symmetrical development could have been carried out; and especially striking were Clap's skill and foresight, in connection with this charter, which developed the Presidential office out of the earlier position of Rector, who had been little more than the chief hired servant of the Trustees. But furthermore, his love of method, his powers of organization, his thoroughness in detail, his tenacity of purpose, were felt, as they were needed, everywhere in the circle of the College interests.

As Dr. Daggett says in his Funeral Sermon, "He thought, he acted, he lived very uniformly, and by rule," and a certain logical definiteness about the important measures of his administration helped to make their impress permanent. His rearrangement of the course of study in the interest of mathematical science had a lasting effect on the position of such studies in the College; his way of introducing government by the Faculty, sitting in consultation with the President, settled a precedent which has prevailed until now; his plan of a College congregation, and a College church, has settled that question for those who have followed him; and so, in the mere matter of buildings, his choice of a location for South Middle and the Athenaeum determined the lines of growth for over a century.

His term of office was prolonged far beyond that of any of his predecessors, and fell short but two years of President Day's, the longest in our history; under him and in his methods, his three successors in office, Daggett, Stiles, and Dwight, were trained partly or wholly. No head of the College has had a better opportunity, or has better improved it, for influence on the future. To illustrate this in detail would be to go over about all that there is of importance in the College annals, from the time that Clap's name was first heard here until a new world of ideas was introduced with the constitution of the new nation.

I think that I am only just in saying that as James Pierpont, of New Haven, at the opening of the 18th century, should be remembered as beyond all others the true founder of the College; and Timothy Dwight, in the opening of the 19th century, as the far-sighted projector and herald of the expanded university; just so truly should Thomas Clap be held in esteem, whose work was the main and necessary link between the two.

But with all this admirable activity and conscientious devotion, so essential to everything that has since been accomplished, he was yet not a successful man, in so far as success involved present appreciation and popular favor, not merely among students but among men. There was something intensely domineering and arbitrary in his

manner, and the same qualities seemed to attach equally to the measures which he carried through. The consequence of this, and of his alienation of former supporters by his change of policy in such matters as the College church, was that the latter half of his Presidency was stormy and mutinous, and the treatment which he received in the Corporation and in the Colony forced him ultimately to resign, and clouded if it did not embitter his last days.

Among his predecessors and his successors in office there have been those of greater natural gifts and of greater acquisitions; but I doubt if any one of them, placed in his circumstances, could have accomplished as thoroughly as he did, the great and absolutely necessary work for which Yale College honors the memory of Thomas Clap.

APPENDIX.

Publications of President Clap, with references to Libraries where copies are to be found.

1. The Greatness and Difficulty of the work of the Ministry: a Sermon [from 2 Cor. ii, 16] at the Ordination of the Rev. Ephraim Little, at Colchester, Sept. 20, 1732.

Boston, 1732. 8°. pp. 30.
[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Conn. Hist. Soc. Mass. Hist. Soc. Yale (imperfect).

2. Account of a Conference with Mr. James Davenport, respecting his Condemnation of the Rev. Joseph Noyes. Signed by Clap, and five other brethren of the New Haven Church. Dated Sept. 21, 1741.

In Boston Post-Boy, No. 392, and copied into C. Chauncy's Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England (Bost. 1743, 8°), pp. 158-61.

3. A Catalogue of the Library of Yale-College in New-Haven.

N. London, 1743. 16°. pp. iv, 48.
[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Bost. Athenæum. Harvard. Yale.
The same. [2d ed.] N. H., 1755. 16°. pp. iv, 43. [Yale.

4. A Letter To a Friend in Boston . . [on the Rev. Jonathan Edwards's telling him] that Mr. Whitefield said . . that it was his Design to turn the generality of the Ministers in the Country out of their Places, and re-settle them with Ministers from England, Scotland, and Ireland. [Dated Dec., 1744.]

Boston, 1745. 16°. pp. 8.
[Amer. Congr. Assoc. Boston Public Libr. Harvard. Mass. Hist. Soc.

5 The Declaration of the Rector and Tutors of Yale College against the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, his Principles and Designs, in a Letter to him.

Boston, 1745. 8°. pp. 14, i.
[Amer. Congr. Assoc. Boston Public Libr. Conn. Hist. Soc. Prince. Libr. Yale.

6. A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Edwards, of North-Hampton, Expostulating with him for his Injurious Reflections in his late Letter to a Friend; And shewing that Mr. Edwards in contradicting the Rector plainly contradicts himself. [Dated April 1, 1745.]

Boston, 1745. 4°. pp. 11.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Boston Athenæum. Boston Public Libr. Harvard. Mass. Hist. Soc. (imperfect.) Brit. Museum.

7. Letter concerning the Expulsion of the two Cleavelands from Yale-College. Dated April 18, 1745.

In the New-York Post-Boy, Apr. 29, 1745; and copied in The American Magazine for June, 1745 (vol ii., p. 264).

8. The Judgment of the Rector and Tutors of Yale College, concerning Two of the Students who were expelled; together with the Reasons of it.

N. London, 1745. 4°. pp. 10.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Mass. Hist. Soc. Reprinted in Boston, 1745

9. The Religious Constitution of Colleges, Especially of Yale-College in New-Haven, in the Colony of Connecticut.

New-London, 1754. 4°. pp. 20.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Boston Athenæum. Boston Public Libr. Brit. Mus. Harvard. L. I. Hist. Soc. Mass. Hist. Soc. N. H. Col. Hist. Soc. Yale

10. The Answer of The Friend in the West, to a Letter from A Gentleman in the East [B. Gale], entitled, The present State of the Colony of Connecticut considered.

New Haven, 1755. 8°. pp. 18.

[Yale.

Anonymous.

11. A Brief History and Vindication of the Doctrines Received and Established in the Churches of New-England, With a Specimen of the New Scheme of Religion beginning to prevail.

New-Haven, 1755. 8°. pp. 45.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Harvard. Yale. Brit. Mus.

The same. Second Edition. Boston, 1757. 8°. pp. 40.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Boston Athenæum. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Prince. Libr. Yale.

12. A short account of a Comet, dated May 2, 1759.

In Conn. Gazette, May 5; copied in Boston Post-Boy, May 14, 1759.

13. A letter concerning a fire-ball of May 10, 1759. Dated at Boston, May 26. In Boston News-Letter of May 31, 1759.

14. An Essay on the Nature and Foundation of Moral Virtue and Obligation; being a Short Introduction to the Study of Ethics; for the Use of the Students of Yale-College.

New-Haven, 1765. 8°. pp. iv, 68.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Amer. Congr. Assoc. Boston Athenæum. Boston Public Libr. Brit. Mus. Harvard. Mass. Hist. Soc. N H. Col. Hist. Soc. Yale.

15. An article on Meteors, in the Connecticut Gazette, Oct. 4, 1765.

16. A Letter on the Mineral Spring at Stafford, Connecticut. In the Conn. Gazette, Aug. 23, 1766.

17. The Annals or History of Yale-College.
New-Haven, 1766. 8°. pp. iv, 124.
[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Boston Athenæum. Harvard. L. I. Hist. Soc. Mass. Hist. Soc. Yale.

18. Conjectures upon the Nature and Motion of Meteors, which are above the Atmosphere. [Outside title; President Clap, on Terrestrial Comets.]
Norwich, 1781. 4°. pp. 15.
[Boston Athenæum. Conn. Hist. Soc. Yale. Brit. Museum.

Among his more important manuscripts are:

1. Some Considerations tending to put an End to the Differences that have been about Singing by Rule. 8 pp. 16°.
A plea for singing by note; undated, but I think written while he was studying theology, about 1722-25.

2. Memoirs of some Remarkable Occurrences of Divine Providence towards me in the course of my Life, together with some Reflections and Observations upon them.
In possession of his descendants.
Parts of this were printed in the Sermon by Prof. Daggett at his funeral, and in E. Waterman's Century Sermon at Windham; it includes, Meditations upon the Death of my wife, Aug. 9, 1736.
Other parts, Dated Nov. 9, 1736—May 9, 1737.
Also, memoranda of events in 1739-41.

3. Sermon, March, 1741.
[Yale.

4. A discourse on the propriety of using natural, not artificial light. 12 pp. 4°.
Refers to Duke of Cumberland's career, in terms appropriate to about 1745.

5. A copy of a letter to Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, Nov. 5, 1753. In President Stiles's MSS., Yale.

6. Brief Notes of Sermon, from Psalm c, 4, 5, preached in College Hall on Thanksgiving Day, Wednesday, Nov. 13, 1754. 7 pp. 16°.
(5 pp. Doctrine, 1½ pp. Improvement.)

7. The Charge given to Professor Daggett at his Instalment, March 1756. 1 p. 8°.

8. The Ecclesiastical Constitution of Colleges under the Jewish and Christian Dispensations. 1757. 32 pp. 4°.
[And an earlier draft of the same, with title, The antient Ecclesiastical Constitution of Colleges. Written after 1753. 32 pp. 4°.]
The object is to show that the word College in usual acceptation originally meant School of Ministers, and that historically Yale College is so.

9. A brief History and Vindication of Confessions of Faith, Occasioned by a new Impression and Publication [in 1760] of the Confession of Faith consented to by the Churches in the Colony of Connecticut, and by sundry Aspersions cast upon Confessions of Faith in an anonimous Pamphlet entituled a Letter to Paulinus [N.-H., Feb. 1760, by Wm. Hart].
66 pp. 4°. [Not quite complete.]

10. Address to the General Assembly, May, 1763, in reply to the Memorial of E. Dorr, &c., praying for a Visitation of the College. Prof. Kingsley in his Sketch of Y. C. (p. 16) quotes a sentence. 22 pp. 4°.

11. A Letter, dated Feb. 2, 1764, to some unnamed Clergyman, on the matter under discussion in the College Corporation, of allowing students who have been punished by the President and Tutors a Right of Appeal to the President and Fellows. Largely a legal argument. 12 pp. folio.

12. Some Observations relating to the Government of the College.
[Read to the Corporation, June, 1764.] 25 pp. 4°.
A classification of offences, and explanation of the grounds of punishment.

13. Tho'ts on the Present State of Religion. [Imperfect. 19 pp. 4°.]
Mainly a defence of Consociation and Consociated Councils.
In it he mentions The Winter Evening's Conversation [by Sam'l Webster] which was published in 1757.

14. A Plan or Heads of a History of the Colony of Connecticut.
11 pp. fol.
Quotes Massachusetts Representation of 1764.

ON SOME SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS AT HARVARD AND YALE, BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

[From the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1893.]

In the catalogues of graduates of Harvard College down to 1772, and in those of Yale down to 1767, the names of the students in the successive classes are placed—not alphabetically, as now, and not as at Oxford or Cambridge in the order of application for admission, or according to scholastic merit, but—in an order supposed to indicate the rank of their respective fathers or families.

Such a system was a wholly natural consequence of the conditions of life to which the founders of Harvard had been accustomed in the mother country; and although no directly corresponding usage is traceable at either of the English universities, where these founders had themselves been trained, yet I believe we can connect the system logically with the distinctions there observed. Thus the revised matriculation statutes adopted at Oxford in 1565, and in force in the time of the Harvard founders, adjusted the scale of fees for the ceremony of matriculation in accordance with the social rank of the fathers of the candidates, from 13 s. 4 d. paid by the son of a prince, duke or marquis, down to 4 d., the charge to *plebei filius*, which would naturally be understood as the son of a yeoman, and 2 d. to a servitor.[227] The phrase at Cambridge corresponding to *plebei filius* was *mediocris fortunæ*, and in practice both were, I fancy, elastic enough to include a large part of the ordinary students. The most careful authorities on Oxford and Cambridge antiquities give us nothing which is more to the point than such regulations as these; and the system as developed at Harvard may be fairly described as a natural deduction from the structure of university society, as of general society, in the England of Elizabeth and James the First.

I have been favored with comments on the subject from several English correspondents, and I may be allowed to quote at length from a private letter of Dr. Venn, senior fellow and historian of Caius College, Cambridge, with whose view of the matter such

[227] Register of the Univ., vol. 2, pt. 1, 165 (Oxford Hist. Soc. Publications, X.).

other eminent authorities as Mr. J. Bass Mullinger, the librarian of St. John's College, Cambridge, and historian of the University, and the Rev. Andrew Clark, fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, seem to coincide substantially. Dr. Venn says:—

"As we all know, the University classification was a *threefold* one, viz., into fellow-commoners, pensioners and sizars; and this has been unchanged, at any rate since the commencement of the matriculations in 1544. But from Elizabethan times, and perhaps earlier, our classification at Caius was a *fivefold* one: (1) Fellow-commoners, containing the young men of family, and Masters of Arts; then come three classes of pensioners, sometimes described as *primi, secundi* and *tertii ordinis,* or more particularly: (2) Pensioners to the Bachelors' table, containing besides the Bachelors, other undergraduates; (3) Pensioners to the Scholars' table; to this belonged not only those who were actual scholars, *i. e.,* on the foundation, but also those who intended to try for scholarships (so I judge) and probably other students who could not pay the higher fees for the other tables; (4) 'Pensioners' simply, corresponding to the bulk of the modern students; (5) Sizars, who waited on the Fellows, etc., and ate what they left. This arrangement was strictly speaking one of the *table* at which the student had his meals; but it is plain that some sort of social precedence was thus indicated:—the fees were successively higher from the Sizar upwards; the lad of better social position takes one of the second or third class, if he is not an actual fellow-commoner; the division of the graduates' fees at Commencement Day, etc., for the purpose of feasts, follows the same arrangement, and so on. I have come in fact on frequent indications that these successive grades implied a certain social precedence. This arrangement was in full work, with us, throughout the seventeenth century, but gradualllly decayed during the eighteenth. To some extent it was an arrangement in 'order of family rank'; for, the fees being higher in the upper tables, youths of rank were more likely to be found in them; but there was no attempt to arrange trades and professions in any order of precedence."

The substance of the English custom is well expressed by Mr. Mullinger, who writes that "the students themselves, on entering, defined their own status by the fee which they paid. That they themselves paid fees according to their means and social position was quite different from any such distinction being insisted on by the College."

But however the founders of the first New England college may have departed from the customs which they left behind them, it is

no wonder that a system which had gone on for two generations at Harvard, should have been adopted in turn by the ministers who gave shape to the college in Connecticut, as part of the natural order of collegiate discipline.

A more direct copy, in Harvard's first century, of a social distinction peculiar to the transatlantic Cambridge, was the enrolment of a few of the richer students as Fellow-Commoners, that is, strictly, undergraduates entitled to take their meals at Commons at the Fellows' table.[228] But this badge of aristocracy, never frequent, had nearly passed out of use before the institution of the collegiate school in Connecticut, where indeed there would have been little or no opportunity for its cultivation.

It is, of course, impossible at this distance of time to recover and estimate in their due proportions all the considerations determining the arrangement of class-lists formed on a scheme of social rank; my hope is merely to bring out some of the general principles which guided the action of the college authorities, and incidentally to gather some information on social grades in the community.

It seems to have been the duty of the President—or Rector, as he was commonly styled at Yale until after 1745,—or the President in conjunction with the resident Fellows or Tutors as a Faculty, to arrange the list of each class, soon after entrance into college. The earliest formal record at Harvard of this sort begins with the beginning of the first volume of the Record of the Faculty in 1725, where under date of December is the entry: "Twenty and seven Scholars were admitted into the College this year. They were placed or disposed in the Class by the President and Fellows, as follows." The list of names of the class as it was afterwards graduated in 1729 is then given, and similar entries occur annually thenceforth. With the class of 1732 the residence of each member is added, and his age by years. Instead of the last item, in the class of 1741, the exact date of birth is substituted, and in this form the record continues until the custom expires. The period of the academic year when the list was thus made out varied from September until June, being most frequently in March or one of the adjoining months.

At Yale the only corresponding records are those contained in some private note-books kept by President Clap, which cover the classes from 1747 to 1757 and from 1761 to 1767; and the lists are supplemented by occasional memoranda of items respecting the

[228] Such were Wyllys, class of 1653; Saltonstall, 1659; Browne, 1666; Wainwright, 1686; the brothers Vassall, 1732 and 1733.

standing and fortunes of the parents, jotted down by the President apparently for his own information and guidance; the lists in the Faculty books at Harvard, being mere formal records, contain, so far as I have noticed, only a single instance of like nature, where the father of a certain candidate in the class of 1734 is described as a shipwright.

The lists thus determined near the opening of the college course stood unchanged ever after, excepting when (very rarely) some error in the arrangement, due to imperfect knowledge, was subsequently corrected, or when an individual was punished by a change of place, or "degradation," a penalty next to expulsion in severity, on account of misdemeanors.

Many instances could be cited to prove that a rise in the father's social or official position during a son's college course was not allowed to disturb the class arrangement as already fixed.[229] A pertinent illustration is the case of Joseph Parsons, at the foot of the class of 1697; at the beginning of his senior year his father was promoted to a judgeship of the Hampshire County Court, but without affecting the college rank of the son.

All the evidence tends to show that the problem of arrangement was, as we should expect, a perplexing one. In the earlier generations at Harvard, family pedigree seems to have been the paramount consideration, while the father's individual standing was distinctly secondary; but as a longer interval separated the colonists from their English home and its definite laws of precedence, the more difficult became the determination of family rank in communities as homogeneous as these of New England. It still remained true, however, to the latest date, as I believe, both at Harvard and at Yale, that the general social standing of the family was taken into account, as well as the father's personal status, in deciding a student's grade; and I think I do not exaggerate in saying that, at Harvard especially, there was continually a conscious effort to keep up the respect due to family names of past distinction by concessions of this sort on the college roll. This influence was less felt and less welcomed at Yale, where the constituency was always more democratic and more homespun than that of the elder university. And yet, even here, the prestige of an honored ancestral name was always valued. To illustrate: John Still Winthrop leads the Yale class-list of 1737, although his father by no means filled such important public station as the fathers of the three or four youths next below him; but the Winthrop name was second to none in New England in renown, and carried its own justification for unrivalled

[229] Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, VIII., 33.

precedence. Taking the whole of the class-lists at both colleges subject to this arrangement, Winthrop is the name which is uniformly found in a higher position than any other occurring as often (ten times in all); six of these times it holds the first place, being surpassed in that special pre-eminence by only two other names, Hutchinson and Russell, each of which occurs seven times in that rank.

To continue the statistics on this head, it appears that the next below the names already mentioned, in frequency of occurrence in the first place, are Dudley and Saltonstall (five times each). The names most notably frequent, after Winthrop, in a uniformly high grade are, Davenport and Wainwright (each six times, and always in the first four places); Quincy (nine times, not lower than the first five places); Danforth (nine times, in the first six places); and Oliver (twenty times, in the first seven places).

Not a single name occurring more than once stands uniformly at the head of the list; and the Connecticut name of Wyllys is the only one occurring as many as four times, which is always in either the first or the second rank.

It may be worth while in this connection to note the frequency with which the leading family names are represented in the two oldest universities of New England, throughout their history. Taking as guides the latest catalogues of graduates (Harvard, 1890; Yale, 1892), it is not unexpected to find that the name of Smith leads all the rest in either catalogue, though by far more common at Yale than at Harvard.[230] At Harvard, on the other hand, Brown is a strong second,[231] while barely fourth at Yale,[232] where the second place is still held by Williams,[233] a good third at Harvard;[234] and the remaining place, third at Yale,[235] and fourth at Harvard,[236] is given to Clark. If the lists of the two colleges are combined (omitting duplicates), the order of names is Smith, Williams, Clark, Brown, Adams, Hall, Allen, White, Johnson, Jones, Davis, Parker, Green, Hubbard,—these being all which have as many as a hundred representatives, and also all which at either college count up to two-thirds of that number, besides the Baldwins and the Strongs, who are exceptionally frequent in the Yale catalogue.[237]

[230] 154, Harvard; 219, Yale.
[231] 120.
[232] 89.
[233] 120.
[234] 119.
[235] 111.
[236] 107.
[237] Seventy-three Baldwins here to 22 at Harvard, and 67 Strongs to 12.

In estimating family rank, I believe also that an ample fortune was taken prominently into account, and that some of the perplexing cases, where persons of undoubted family claims are placed low in the class-lists, may in part at least be explained by straitened paternal circumstances. This consideration had, as I conjecture, its influence in relegating the sons of the Rev. Charles Chauncy in the classes of 1651 and1657 at Harvard to some of the lowest places; I may quote also, as suggesting a similar effect, a memorandum made repeatedly by President Clap of Yale in his notebooks, in the times of a greatly depreciated currency (about 1753-4), where he describes the parents of certain students, low in grade, as "of middling estate, much impoverished."

The point suggested should not, however, be pressed too far. While I am convinced of an exceptional regard paid to wealth, and of slights put upon some who failed by this test, I ought also to direct attention to a small class of instances in the early decades at Harvard, where certain persons of good family appear by the records to have paid their way in part by such services as waiting in the hall or bell-ringing, and yet to have retained the full rank to which they were entitled. These cases present no inconsistency with the general rule, family rank being the normal standard, and wealth or poverty an accessory of varying importance, as connected with the different problems of each new class-list.

Aside from general family rank, then, in estimating the claims of a student, the comparative wealth or poverty and the professional or official standing of his father were mainly to be regarded. So far as I have seen, the mother's family, and her earlier alliances in case of a prior marriage, were not much heeded. An instance in point is that of Samuel Pomeroy, the lowest in rank of the Yale class of 1705, a son of a country farmer, whose wife, however, had previously been the wife of a clergyman, a Harvard graduate, and the son of a distinguished President of that seminary. Neither did the fact of a student's having had a brother graduate at college and enter on a learned profession, have usually any perceptible weight, nor do remoter relationships seem to have interfered with the application of general rules. A single instance of the practice in a brother's case is that of Simon Tufts, below the middle of the class of 1724 at Harvard, and own brother of the Rev. John Tufts, who held relatively the same position in the class of 1708, and was now established in the ministerial ranks. In the case of Isaac Browne, last in the Yale class of 1729, and a brother of the Rev. Daniel Browne, Yale, 1714, we may conjecture that the elder brother's defection to episcopacy, with Rector Cutler, subjected his

young relative at least to an unconscious prejudice, and certainly prevented any substantial advantage accruing to his favor. Somewhat like this would seem to have been the fate of John Brainerd, in the class of 1746, who entered Yale a few months after his brother David's expulsion for contumacy, and so, although the son of a dignified magistrate, was placed next the foot of his class by the implacable Rector Clap; the oldest brother of the family had been ranked fourth out of twenty-three in the class of 1732,—a totally different treatment from that now accorded to the youngest. The small effect of remoter relationships may be seen in the case of John Norton, who is placed next the last in the class of 1671 at Harvard, though a nephew of the Rev. John Norton and of Sir George Downing, and a great-nephew of Governor Winthrop.

I think it also tolerably clear that, in some cases at least, non-residents of the colony or province in which the college was situated were under some disadvantage as compared with residents. So, in one of the earliest Harvard classes (1649), a son of Governor Eaton of New Haven yields precedence to a son of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Massachusetts Bay, who represents a family surely not superior in blood to the Eatons. A similar consideration may have been a cumulative force in depressing the rank of the sons of the Rev. Charles Chauncy of the Plymouth Colony in 1651; and it may help to explain the like fortune of a son of the Rev. Thomas Hooker of Connecticut in 1653. So also at Yale, in the class of 1705, David Parsons, the son of a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, was ranked below the sons of decidedly less prominent laymen who were of Connecticut birth and residence. The motto for guidance was not apparently "*Omne ignotum pro magnifico*," so much as "Charity begins at home."

In some early cases it seems as though the father's death had affected the son's rank unfavorably. An apt illustration is that of Joseph Haynes, Harvard, 1658, the son of Governor Haynes of Connecticut, who is put below Joseph Eliot; while in the class of 1656 the order of the names of two brothers of these students is exactly reversed; the only apparent difference in the respective circumstances being that when the class of 1656 entered college, Governor Haynes was living, and that two years later he was dead. Another instance of marked difference in the treatment of two brothers is seen in the case of the sons of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers (Harvard, 1649 and 1659); and here again the much lower grading of the younger son coincides with the father's removal by death. I doubt, also, whether if Governor Dudley had been alive, his son would have stood second in the class of 1665.

Another case, that of Ezra Reeve (Yale, 1757), may be cited as evidence that loss of standing on a father's part affected the son's position. Reeve's father was deposed from the ministry for intemperance about 1748, and presumably for that reason the son is not ranked along with other ministers' sons in his class, but is placed in a distinctly inferior group.

We come next to the cases of degradation for personal reasons. In the Yale experience these occurred but rarely. At Harvard, on the other hand, at least during the period covered by the extant Faculty Records, this punishment seems to have been more familiarly used and with a somewhat different scope from that which is generally assigned to it. From these records I should say that in common usage degradation was resorted to, not with the purpose of being a final, but rather as a temporary expedient. At least I should estimate from a hasty inspection that in fully five-sixths of the cases recorded, repentance and confession secured, after a few months, restoration to the original standing.

Yet, after all abatements, degradation remained as a sober reality for a few cases. The earliest suspected instance is that of James Ward, next the foot of the Harvard class of 1645, the son of a clergyman, who is known to have been otherwise punished for the crime of burglary in his junior year. In the class of two years later, William Mildmay, the son of a knight, is placed below all his classmates; and such a fate can hardly have been the result of anything but personal misconduct. Again, at the foot of the class of 1658 stands a son of the Rev. Thomas Shepard; and in contrast with the rank of another son who was graduated earlier, this perhaps implies some censure in his college experience. Another case may be that of Bezaleel Sherman, last in the class of 1661, the son of a clergyman, a graduate of Cambridge, England, and a Fellow of Harvard, who deserved on all family grounds a higher place. A notable case is that of Samuel Melyen, class of 1696, who was degraded three places in his sophomore year for connection with a trifling disturbance, and whose unavailing efforts after graduation to secure reinstatement have found their way into print[238] in our own day.

During the last forty-five years of the continuance of the system at Harvard, the evidence of the Faculty Records should be conclusive as to the number of cases in which the penalty of degradation was permanently enforced; and if I have counted correctly there are but eight such cases mentioned. The occasions of punishment in these instances are of the familiar sort,—such as stealing fowls,

[238] Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, viii., 33-35, 231, 232.

insulting tutors, Sabbath breaking, and in one case (most severely dealt with, involving a drop from a place well within the first half of the class to the very foot) stealing combustibles and making a bonfire. Details are unnecessary, unless one case may serve as an index to the others, where a country minister's son, entering college in 1748, at thirteen and one-half, and being convicted of the mild crime of breaking windows, was thenceforth degraded two places, and yet lived to be a most respected citizen, at the head of the medical profession in the State of his residence.[239]

The list of similar incidents at Yale begins with the name of Jonathan Dickinson, of the class of 1731, the namesake of an honored father, a leader of American Presbyterianism, but himself notorious in college and afterwards as a disreputable fellow; his place at the foot of the class can only be accounted for as in retribution for some of his offences. The extant Record of the Acts and Judgments of the Yale Faculty begins with December, 1751, and I cite in passing the initial entry as characteristic of the times and manners:—

"Whereas Holmes, a student of this College, on 10th of Nov^{r}. last, being the Sabbath or Lord's Day, travelled unnecessarily, and that with a Burden or Pack behind him, from beyond Wallingford to this place; which is contrary to the Divine and Civil Law, as well as to the Laws of this College:

"It is therefore considered by the President, with the Advice of the Tutors, that the said Holmes shall be fined 20^{d}. sterl., viz. 20/ O. Tenor."

Holmes was a great-uncle of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, and spent his life as a highly respected minister of the Gospel, so that it is a relief to find a subsequent entry to the effect that "the abovenamed Stephen Holmes made a public Confession in the Hall for the Crime abovesaid, and therefore the abovewritten Judgment was not put in Execution."

At this period, under the despotic and somewhat petty rule of President Clap, disorder on the part of the students abounded, and was met with nagging punishments. Probably there has never been a time in the experience at Yale when antagonism between the authorities and the students has been so ingeniously and assiduously cultivated; but as to the penalty of degradation, the Faculty Records from 1751 to 1767, including more than half of Clap's presidency, mention only four cases,—the first being that of Isaac Burr, of the class of 1753, a native of Worcester, the son of a clergyman,

[239] Dr. Ammi R. Cutter of Portsmouth, N. H.

who was moved down three places, late in his junior year, as a part of his punishment for repeatedly kicking a senior—after what provocation does not appear. Three of his classmates are known to have suffered a like penalty at some earlier period in their course, and three later cases are recorded, for such misdemeanors as playing with dice, and bringing rum into college buildings without leave.

To return to the general principles of arrangement: there can be no doubt that important relations of the students' parents to the college or to other colleges were recognized in the ranking. Thus it usually happens that the sons of Trustees and other college officers or benefactors are given an advantage in comparison with that otherwise to be accorded them. Thus the youngest sons of the Rev. Charles Chauncy, already twice referred to, made a great stride, in the Harvard class of 1661, after their father had become President, above the position of their elder brothers, who entered from a poor country parsonage in Scituate. A striking exception is the case of Joseph Noyes, Yale, 1709, son of the senior Trustees; and I can only account for the low place assigned him (seventh in a list of nine) by a reference to his father's rank at Harvard, which was the lowest in his class, and by supposing that perhaps a modest adherence to the standard thus set was in conformity with the father's own preference.

The cases of students who had been previously enrolled in some other college were not treated by uniform rule. Such a case was that of Benjamin Woodbridge, who leads the entire Harvard roll, as the first name in her first graduating class;[240] but his claim for precedence over Downing, a nephew of Governor Winthrop, and Bellingham, a son of the Deputy-Governor, rests, I suppose, on the special circumstance that he had spent nearly four years at Oxford, so that practically he was merely examined for a degree. In the

[249] I do not know how to explain the fact that the list of this first Harvard class is handed down to us in two different forms—one as given in the Catalogue of Graduates, and another as given with the Commencement Theses in "New England's First Fruits." The two lists are as follows:

Catalogue of Graduates.	New England's First Fruits.
Benjamin Woodbridge.	Benjamin Woodbridge.
George Downing.	George Downing.
John Bulkley.	William Hubbard.
William Hubbard.	Henry Saltonstall.
Samuel Bellingham.	John Bulkley.
John Wilson.	John Wilson.
Henry Saltonstall.	Nathaniel Brewster.
Tobias Barnard.	Samuel Bellingham.
Nathaniel Brewster.	Tobias Barnard.

next three cases which I have noticed,—those of Edward Taylor (Harvard, 1671), Nicholas Morton (1686), and Benjamin Prat (1737),[241] admission to advanced standing placed a man at the foot of his class; and the same was true in the rare instances where a freshman after admission was able by superior work to secure promotion to the class above him. But in later usage the rule was changed; and I have noted at least four cases in the Yale classes from 1760 to 1767, and six at Harvard in the classes from 1761 to 1771, in which students admitted to advanced standing from other colleges or from private preparation were inserted in the class-lists according to their proper rank.

Passing now to the consideration of the treatment of professional standing, it should be said at once that, contrary perhaps to a prevailing impression, there was never any disposition to exalt the ministerial order above laymen of distinction. For example, in the Yale class of 1705, the earliest in my own college which affords any illustration of this point, the leading place is given to a representative of one of the honored names of Connecticut, distinguished, however, exclusively in civil life; and below him stands a scion of the Mather family, already one of the most conspicuous in the clerical annals of New England, who was moreover a special candidate for promotion as the son of a Trustee of the college. The same class-list illustrates in its lowest name, Samuel, son of Deacon Medad Pomeroy of Northampton, another fact of kindred interest, that the office of deacon and that of ruling elder, in the New-England churches, were not of themselves regarded as titles to special distinction.

At Harvard a like treatment of the sons of the clergy is abundantly manifest, as we should even more confidently have expected. With all the reverence so justly paid by the early generations in Massachusetts Bay to their educated ministry, the clergy themselves brought with them a full appreciation of the relatively inferior position of the parish minister in their old homes, which served as an additional bulwark to protect and exalt the claims of family aristocracy. The Oxford usage in matriculation fees, already referred to (page 203), put the clergyman's son (when any distinction was made) much nearer the yeoman than the gentleman, and it took time for clerical prestige to gain an independent foothold.

An examination of almost any of the larger class-lists at Harvard or at Yale will illustrate the assertion that the sons of ministers

[241] Cf. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, viii., 35, 36.

were not unduly honored; but the wide difference between the constituencies of the two colleges appears strikingly in the statistics on this point. Yale in this early period drew her students largely from the simple secluded communities of Connecticut and the country round about it, in which the clergy were to a large extent easily the leading figures; accordingly, in the Yale classes arranged on this system which contained both sons of laymen and sons of ministers, we find that twenty-six are headed by the former and twenty-seven by the latter. At Harvard the circumstances were different from the first; and especially as time went on, the families enriched by commerce in Boston and neighboring towns were represented in large proportions, and with them a much more numerous and important contingent of public officials than ever grew up in Connecticut, where the machinery of government was every way simpler and less ambitious. At Harvard, then, the statistics in regard to the parentage of the names leading the class-lists are, for the seventeenth century, twenty-nine sons of laymen and sixteen sons of ministers; while after this date the laity practically crowd the clergy entirely out of the first place.

Inspection proves conclusively that when professional standing was combined, especially in the early decades at Harvard, with slender fortune or obscure family connections, the professional standing was likely to be slighted; illustrations of this are very frequent. And down to the latest period we find that the groups of ministers' sons are obliged to make way continually for the sons of civilians of no very special distinction. I recall, for instance, a case in the class of 1763 at Harvard, where Nathaniel Noyes, who was first ranked twelfth on the roll, was afterwards found to be the son of a Justice of the Peace, and when this not very notable fact was ascertained—in addition to the other claims which he had for position—he was moved up five places, thereby passing in his upward progress one or two sons of ministers.

It is evident from several cases as late as the middle of the eighteenth century that practitioners of medicine had not by that date gained a secure position as professional men. In fact, I do not recall a single instance of that period in which a doctor's son, with no other recommendation in his favor, takes any special rank. In one such case, that of Nathaniel Ruggles (Yale, 1758), President Clap's private memorandum is "Justice of the Peace, Deacon," with not a hint of a learned profession, and this puts the youth tenth in a class of forty-three; while Clement Sumner, the son of another physician who did not happen to be also a Justice and a Deacon, is thirty-third in the same catalogue.

The legal profession had earned an earlier and fuller recognition, sufficiently accounted for from its public connection with the courts of justice and with all the visible machinery of governmental authority.

Next to the three learned professions ought to come that of the teacher; but not so in the regard of these college authorities. At least we find such examples as that of Henry Rust, son of a schoolmaster in Ipswich, Massachusetts, who is allowed to stand last in the class of 1707 at Harvard.

Occasionally in these inquiries one stumbles on an interesting suggestion of the relative status of various other employments. A very early instance is in the Harvard class of 1653, where Joshua Long, son of an inn-keeper in England, takes precedence of Samuel Whiting, the son of a clergyman, who was in turn son of a Mayor of Boston, England; no more emphatic testimony could be given to the honorable regard paid in the old country to that public trust of keeping a house of entertainment, which we know to have been at that date a prerogative of citizens of the first rank. So, at Harvard in the class of 1667, John Harriman, son of an early inn-keeper at New Haven, led his class, including thus among his social inferiors the sons of the Rev. Peter Hobart, an English university graduate. As time passed, however, this particular occupation failed to maintain the same rank: witness the instances of Peter Ruck (Harvard, 1685) and James Greaton (Yale, 1754).

Probably the general expectation of those who have not looked into the matter would be that with a little study an exact order of precedence, to cover nearly all cases, could be evolved,—somewhat perhaps like this: first, sons of Governors, then in due succession sons of Deputy-Governors, of Councillors or Assistants, of ministers, of judges, of lawyers, of doctors, of members of the General Assembly, of justices of the peace and quorum, of militia officers, of merchants, of farmers, of mechanics, and so on. But if I make my meaning clear, it is evident that in practice the arrangement was governed by no such simple formula. Considerations of ancestral distinction, of family estate, of paternal position, and the like, entered into each case in ever-varying combinations, precluding the possibility of any cut-and-dried system; though it seems as if finally the increasing difficulties of the plan had made it necessary to fall back on a more definite method of classification by groups of certain fixed characters. I do not profess to have fathomed the intricacies and perplexities of the subject, nor to be able to explain particular instances which look like the arbitrary vagaries of personal partiality or prejudice. No rule and no explanation that I am

aware of can meet the case of Henry Saltonstall, son of a Knight and of an Assistant in the Government, standing seventh in the first class at Harvard, except it be the inference that in the first attempt at such a classification a settled plan was not consistently followed; nor that of Samuel Phipps, a son of a carpenter of undistinguished lineage, outranking, as second in the class of 1671, a Sewall and a Mather, a Thacher and a Norton; nor that of the two Woodbridges, both sons of clergymen of note, but relegated to the foot of the class of 1701, unless they were late in entering. At Yale, where the conditions were in every way less complex, I know of not a single anomalous or inexplicable case, besides that of Joseph Noyes, already mentioned. In every comparison of results between the two institutions the marked difference of numbers should be borne in mind; taking even the most favorable period, the last fifty years of the system, the average class at Harvard was nearly fifty per cent. larger than the corresponding class at Yale.

But I may be asked, in view of these unintelligible cases in the earlier generations at Harvard, whether it is certain that the system as we have it later was actually in vogue there from the beginning. Such a question has been raised repeatedly, as by Mr. John Ward Dean in his *Memoir of the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth*[242] (Harvard, 1651), but I do not see how the negative can be seriously maintained, with the facts already known. I believe that the archives at Harvard have not yet been thoroughly examined in order to trace the early references to the custom; but even if we had no direct evidence prior to the time of Samuel Melyen, about half a century from the founding of the college, it is, I hold, practically impossible to account for the system then in use, except by a development of some such plan introduced by the founders themselves, and a result, as I have intimated, of their experience in England. As for the case of Wigglesworth, which led Mr. Dean to doubt, the New Haven records give evidence enough of his father's standing as one of the most substantial citizens of the jurisdiction, to check any surprise at his ranking at the head of a college class.

Of the working and the incidental results of the system, we catch an interesting glimpse in the letters of Judge Paine Wingate of the Harvard class of 1759, written in his ninety-second year, and quoted in Peirce's *History of the University*.[243] In referring to the "excitement—generally called up whenever a class in college was *placed*," he says:—

[242] Pp. 33-35.
[243] Pp. 308-11.

"The parents were not wholly free from influence; but the scholars were often enraged beyond bounds for their disappointment in their place, and it was some time before a class could be settled down to an acquiescence in their allotment. The highest and the lowest in the class was often ascertained more easily (though not without some difficulty) than the intermediate members of the class; where there was room for uncertainty whose claim was best, and where partiality no doubt was sometimes indulged. But I must add," writes Judge Wingate, "that although the honor of a *place* in the class was chiefly ideal, yet there were some substantial advantages. The higher part of the class had generally the most influential friends, and they commonly had the best chambers in college assigned to them. They had also a right to help themselves first at table in Commons, and I believe generally whenever there was occasional precedence allowed, it was very freely yielded to the higher of the class by those who were below." Judge Wingate could speak from experience, his own rank being eighth in a class of thirty-eight. He writes again:—"The freshman class was, in my day at college, usually *placed* (as it was termed) within six or nine months after their admission. . . . As soon as the freshmen were apprized of their places, each one took his station according to the new arrangement at recitation, and at Commons, and in the Chapel, and on all other occasions."

Of other college customs, allied to this, the most important were those connected with the maintenance of a system of carefully graded precedence in the college world as a whole; this included, on the one hand, a much more formal behavior of pupils towards teachers than later generations would have relished, and on the other hand a fine development of the institution of fagging. The early Faculty Records of both colleges bear ample witness to these facts. Thus, on almost the first page of the Yale Records, we read on January 9, 1752, "Whereas it appears that Babcock *tertius* [a Freshman] has lately been guilty of Disrespect and Contempt of the Sophimores, and being absent from his Chamber two afternoons successively, with some aggravating Circumstances, 'tis therefore declared that the said Babcock for the Crimes aforesaid, be publicly admonished." Again, on January 18, "Whereas last Tuesday evening, Cary [a Freshman, afterwards a student of theology and a physician], being called before the Sophimores, went out of the Room in Contempt of them, and said these Words, 'I swan I will not stay here any longer,' which is contrary to the Laws of God and this College, it is therefore considered by the President, with the advice of the Tutors, that the said Cary shall be suspended from all the Privileges of this College."

Already, by the time the rule of arrangement by rank was given up, we have evidence that there had begun to be some relaxation of the traditions of undergraduate subordination,[244] and these gradually faded away by the end of the century.

What special combination of circumstances led to the abandonment at Yale, for all the undergraduates, in the latter part of the year 1767, of the system of social rank in the class-lists, no record remains to show. In the lack of testimony it may be of interest to quote a brief paragraph from a letter of a junior, David Avery, writing on December 17, 1767,[245] to his old instructor, the Rev. Dr. Wheelock, as follows:

"There appears to be a laudable ambition to excel in knowledge. It is not he that has got the finest coat or largest ruffles that is esteemed here at present. And as the class henceforward are to be placed alphabetically, the students may expect marks of distinction to be put upon the best scholars and speakers."[246]

We know, of course, that President Clap retired in September, 1766, from the office which he had held for more than a quarter of a century, and that Dr. Daggett, the Professor of Divinity, a much younger man, not yet forty years old, was entrusted for the time being with the duties of the Presidency. We know, too, that Professor Daggett's gifts were not in the line of strict discipline, and that he cared comparatively little for the minutiæ of ceremony and the dignity of office; and it was probably for him personally a welcome step, to discard the elaborate and perplexing system of class-arrangement. We know, moreover,[247] that the practical management of the college at that time was almost wholly left to the three Tutors—the senior Tutor, Ebenezer Baldwin, twenty-two years of age, with Stephen Mix Mitchell, aged twenty-four, and Job Lane, aged twenty-six—all men of exceptional ability and hospitable therefore to new ideas and responsive to new influences. From this point the modern era begins. A citation just made from the letter of an undergraduate shows how, in connection with the abandonment of these antiquated and now artificial class-distinctions, a new emphasis was placed on that which the college really stood for, scholarship and literary training, and by this means the way was cleared for a new and richer future. To such a change the rising sentiment of the colonies just then distinctly lent itself. The

[244] Hours at Home, x., 331-333.

[245] The law of the Corporation authorizing this change was passed on April 22, 1766, in the midst of President Clap's stormiest troubles.

[246] Hours at Home, x., 333.

[247] Sprague, Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, i., 637.

preceding year had seen the collapse of the attempt to enforce a Stamp Act in America; and the widespread indignation against a tax on tea, to take effect on November 1, 1767, was just lifting the curtain on a new scene of approaching rebellion and independence, with which the college and its special friends were mainly in unmistakable sympathy.

The corresponding change at Harvard was effected about two and a half years later, and the accompanying circumstances can be somewhat fully traced. In August, 1769, the College Faculty (then consisting of four Tutors—the Presidency being vacant) had before them a complaint against the order of arrangement which had been adopted for the class then Sophomores, and on a review of the facts were obliged to revise their former action. The case was that of Samuel Phillips,[248] best known to posterity in connection with the foundation of Phillips Academy, Andover, and the point made was that his father had been commissioned as Justice of the Peace and as Justice of the Quorum at earlier dates than the father of Daniel Murray, who was placed next higher, or in the words of the record, "at the head of the sons of Justices." The matter seems to have brought to a crisis the long-felt dissatisfaction with the system, and to have been the occasion of a report to the Overseers, on May 1, 1770, about six weeks after President Locke's inauguration, from the committee of that body appointed to make inquiry into the state of the college, etc., to the effect "that the inconveniences attending the method hitherto practiced of placing the Individuals in each class of the Freshmen according to the supposed Dignity of the Families whereto they severally belong, appear to the Committee to be so great that they have unanimously agreed to report as their opinion that such practice be laid aside, and that for the future the names of the Scholars in each class be placed in alphabetical order." This recommendation was at once consented to, and went into operation without—so far as the records show—being referred to the Corporation for their approval. In putting the vote into effect the class then Freshmen, and waiting to be placed, was arranged alphabetically; but the upper classes, which had already been placed by the old system, were retained in that order. On the Catalogue of Graduates, therefore, the alphabetical order does not appear until the class of 1773; while the Yale Catalogue, on the other hand, though proceeding on a vote of only two and a half years earlier, begins its alphabetical arrangement with the class of 1768, which was in its Senior year

[248] Quincy, Hist. of Harvard Univ., ii., 157, 158; Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, ix., 253, 254; Taylor, Memoir of Judge Phillips, 21, 347, 348.

when the change was adopted here. The new order of things took effect in print first at Yale with the Triennial Catalogue, published in 1769, and at Harvard with the similar publication in 1773.

In this review of the abolition of the custom at Harvard reference should also be made to the fact that from eight to ten years earlier a determined effort had been made in Western Massachusetts to secure the establishment of a new college,[249] at Northampton, Hatfield, or Hadley; and it was understood[250] that the leader in that movement, Colonel Israel Williams (Harvard, 1727), had been largely prompted by chagrin at the low rank accorded to his eldest son in the Harvard class of 1751 (fourteenth in a class of thirty-five, while his father had been tenth in a class of thirty-seven). The project of a college in Hampshire County had been quashed, but the annoyances and risks continually arising in connection with the administration of the ranking system were growing all the time more formidable.

By the 1st of May, 1770, also, the new American spirit was much more buoyant and defiant than in December, 1767, when Yale had led the way in breaking down the bars of aristocratic precedence. Committees of Correspondence between the different colonies had organized public opinion, and most recently of all the Boston Massacre had tended to knit the community together as one against arbitrary power. It was a good time for any step in the way of abandonment of superior privileges and dignities, the prerogatives of rank and station.

The old custom, however, died hard; and it may be a surprise to the present generation to learn that, nominally at any rate, degradation continued to be a recognized penalty in the college for at least half a century longer. The Records of the Faculty (or the Immediate Government, as the phrase then was) contain abundant evidence for some years later than 1770 that, notwithstanding the classification by social rank had been abandoned in the catalogues, it was still found convenient to keep up some system of placing the students otherwise than alphabetically, and punishing by alterations in this order. A sample of a number of such penalties is a vote of October 11, 1782,[251] by which Rowe is degraded to the bottom of his class, and is to "take his place accordingly in the Chappel and meeting house and on all occasions when the class appears before

[249] Quincy, Hist. of Harvard Univ., ii., 105.

[250] Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, xx., 47.

[251] An earlier instance is quoted in Hall's Collection of College Words and Customs, *s. v. Degredation*, p. 94.

the governors of the college." Still later, in October, 1789, Joseph Dennie, whose brief literary career was so felicitously described by the Rev. Dr. Peabody in our Council Report four years ago, was degraded ten places. I am not aware of any similar entries after this, but the various editions of the College Laws continue to enumerate degradation as one of the established penalties down to and including the issue of 1820; the next issue, that of 1825, omits the familiar phrase, and we are at liberty to surmise that in the latter part of the time when the name was thus continued in the Laws, the penalty was a dead letter, unless in the form of degradation to a lower class.[252] There was nothing at Yale corresponding to this so-to-speak *post-mortem* existence of a discarded system.

I have failed entirely to trace the adoption of the custom by any other of the American colleges. Of those in New England, the next in age is Brown University, but no students were entered there until 1765, and none were graduated until 1769; by which time it was out of the question for a new institution to adopt a custom so nearly worn out. Still less could it have taken root at Dartmouth College, which began in 1770, or in any of the later growths of this region.

In the Middle Colonies, the College of New Jersey began in 1747, and Columbia in 1754, while the University of Pennsylvania was first chartered as a college in 1753; but so far as I can learn, none of these at any time followed the rule of arrangement by family rank. The same is true of the College of William and Mary, of whose development in the ante-revolutionary period even fewer memorials remain.

Of customs of similar import outside, it may be sufficient to instance the New-England and more lastingly the Connecticut habit of dignifying the meeting-house. This annual allotment of seats for Congregational worship was, as we all know, the work of a committee appointed from time to time for the purpose, who were supposed to be guided in their decisions mainly by regard to family descent, wealth, social standing, age, and general usefulness to the community,—or as the Glastonbury (Connecticut) record puts it, "age, state, and parentage."[253] In Waterbury, Connecticut, in 1719, for the purpose of this allotment one year in age was ordered to count as the equivalent of £4 on the tax-list,[254] that is, a man one year younger but paying £4 more of taxes than another,

[252] I am indebted to Mr. W. H. Tillinghast, of the Harvard Library, for calling my attention to this survival.

[253] Chapin, Glastonbury Centennial, 79.

[254] Bronson, Hist. of Waterbury, 223.

would be entitled to an equally good seat; while later in the century, in the adjoining township of Southington, £15 was required to balance an additional year of age, and after 1800 even as high as £80.[255] Military titles were also in some places a ground of special dignity. This quaint relic of unrepublican distinctions disappeared in most localities before the present century, lingering awhile later in a few specially secluded or conservative congregations, as in East Hartford, Connecticut, until 1824,[256] and latest of all in the remote parish of Norfolk, Connecticut, where it was retained—more as a form than as a reality—until so recent a date as 1875.[257] To those who know that picturesque village, rarely favored by nature, and now made doubly attractive by the good taste and unremitting care of those who love it, there is an added charm in identifying it as the last refuge of the latest surviving usage in evidence of the special deference paid to social rank in the earlier generations of New England.

[255] Timlow, Sketches of Southington, 182.
[256] Goodwin, East Hartford, 132.
[257] Bassett and Beach, Centennial Discourses, 54.

THE FIRST PUBLIC LIBRARY IN NEW HAVEN.

[From the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Vol. VI, 1900. Read November 25, 1895.]

Governor Theophilus Eaton, the most eminent layman and the wealthiest proprietor in the original New Haven Colony, died here in January, 1658. His last will and testament was dated seventeen months earlier, in August, 1656, and contains the following somewhat obscure passage:—

"And whereas I received of Mr. John Evance, sometime of New Haven, now settled in London, by order of Mr. Nathaneel Riley of London, the sum of one hundred pounds for a legacy intended for the good of some part of New England, though not so expressed, I hereby declare, that I have already delivered to our reverend pastor, Mr. John Davenport, certain books lately belonging to my brother, Mr. Samuel Eaton, intended for the use of a college, and apprised, as I take it, to about, or near twenty pounds, as by my brother's account may appear, as a part of the said hundred pounds; and further, I have disbursed in rigging, iron-work, blocks, and other charges, several years since, toward the ship Fellowship, I conceive, the whole remainder of the said £100, all which, I take it, is in the hands of Mr. Stephen Goodyear, as by an account he hath under my hand; or if it should fall anything short, my will and mind is, that it be duly made up out of my estate, and be improved for the good of New Haven, by the advice of the magistrates and elders there."

"Mr. John Evance, sometime of New Haven, now settled in London," of whom Governor Eaton says that he received by order of Mr. Nathaniel Riley one hundred pounds, was among the wealthier of the New Haven planters during his stay here, from 1639 to 1652. He was of Welsh origin, as his name indicates, but of London birth, the son of Hugh Evance, of London, clothworker; and had formerly been a parishioner of John Davenport, at St. Stephen's, Coleman street, where the record of his first marriage, to Anne Young, on May 2, 1624, may still be seen. On leaving New Haven he returned to London, and there died about three years after Governor Eaton.

It is not clear from the Governor's language whether the one hundred pounds which he had received of Mr. Evance was Evance's own gift: indeed the use of the term "legacy" seems to imply distinctly that Evance was only the agent of some deceased

benefactor; but in the absence of any knowledge respecting the "Mr. Nathaneel Riley of London," by order of whom the money was received, and who may fairly be thought to be the missing benefactor, further inquiry seems baffled. Of Mr. Evance's will (dated December, 1660, and proved May, 1661) a full abstract is in print,[258] showing that he made no public bequests.

Of Samuel Eaton, however, some twenty pounds of whose property, in books, was turned over by his brother's will, as a part of this legacy, we have better knowledge, and the opportunity is a fitting one to recall briefly the outline of an interesting figure, which has perhaps had less than justice done it, in comparison with the more prominent personalities of his older associates.

The Governor and he were respectively the eldest and third sons in the large family of the Rev. Richard Eaton,—Theophilus having apparently been born just after the father removed from Stony Stratford, in Buckinghamshire, to Trinity Parish, in Coventry, where his son Samuel's baptism is recorded on January 21, 1603, nearly seven years after the same hand had entered on a preceding page the baptism of John Davenport.[259]

Theophilus Eaton passed directly from the Coventry grammar school into mercantile life; but Samuel was duly matriculated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he was graduated Bachelor of Arts in 1624, at the age of twenty-two.

He took orders in the Church, and was at first a curate in the parish of West Kirkby, on the northwest coast of Cheshire; but although that diocese was administered by a tolerant bishop, Laud made his overruling hand felt even there, and Eaton was in consequence visited with suspension for nonconformity in 1631.

After a sojourn in Holland he joined the New Haven emigration, and not unnaturally was called, when in his 37th year, to assist Davenport in ministering to the Church in this place, being assigned a homestead lot next his brother's, on the north side of Elm street, at the corner of State.

The story is familiar, how differences soon developed between the two ministerial colleagues respecting the restriction of the franchise and of office-holding to church members,—of which a permanent memorial remains in one of Davenport's best known compositions, his *Discourse about Civil Government in a new Plantation whose design is Religion,* which is understood to present his side of the argument in a discussion of this question with Samuel Eaton, who advocated a larger freedom. Of course, as we know,

[258] Essex Institute Hist. Collections, xvii, 29-30.
[259] Cf. N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register, xxxviii, 30.

Davenport, with the hearty concurrence of the elder Eaton, carried the day, and the younger Eaton bowed to the will of the majority. But as Cotton Mather informs us,[260] "his brother advised him to a removal."

This was in 1639, and the next year he went back to England, sailing from Boston, where an honorable settlement in the First Church was offered him and refused, his mind being bent on a plan of collecting a new company of planters for Totoket, which is now Branford, this site having been granted him by vote of the Colony Court on August 5, 1640. That he should have made such a plan shows that he had accepted in good faith the recent decision about the franchise, as it was out of the question that any new plantation in connection with New Haven would be allowed to introduce a different mode of government.

He found, however, such a change in the situation at home, after three years' absence, that emigration was no longer necessary or even desirable; and the result was, in brief, that he remained in East Cheshire, to become the chief founder and pillar of Congregationalism in that county. He was settled, before 1645, over a church in Dukinfield, near Manchester, and continued in that immediate neighborhood, until his death, on January 9, 1665, at the age of 62.[261] He left a widow, Alice, who survived till 1681, but no children.

His will, made the month before his death, and recently for the first time printed,[262] distributes his property widely, and thus adds somewhat to our scanty knowledge of the various branches of the family. It enables us, especially, to correct the previously received conjecture that Ann or Hannah, widow of the Rev. Francis Higginson, of Salem, who died at New Haven in 1640, was to be identified with the sister of the Eatons bearing that baptismal name, as mention is distinctly made in the will of "my sister Hannah Parke," wife of Robert Park.

Samuel Eaton was not only a famous organizer of Congregational churches, but a somewhat voluminous writer, being concerned as sole or joint author in at least eight different works, published from 1645 to 1654. These have mostly lost their interest for later generations, being chiefly polemical—aimed against Presbyterians, Socinians, and Quakers. Mather characterizes him as "a very holy man, and a person of great learning and judgment, and a most

[260] Magnalia, ed. 1820, i, 534.

[261] Dictionary of National Biography, xvi, 338-40; Bacon, Hist. Discourses, 59-62.

[262] Earwaker, Hist. of E. Cheshire, ii, 33-34.

incomparable preacher"; and it is not at all surprising that such a scholar and teacher should have brought with him in removing into this wilderness a good theological library, nor is it strange that in returning to England, as he supposed for a temporary purpose, he should have left behind him these bulky volumes, nor again that on determining to stay there he should never have reclaimed this part of his possessions.

From what we know otherwise it is probable that the books left with his brother were such as were already duplicated in his fellow-minister Davenport's library, so that Davenport did not need them; it is an interesting coincidence that the Yale Library has copies of several in this list, bearing John Davenport's autograph; but as we know that the Eaton books were in the possession of the town of New Haven, after the date of Davenport's death, it is reasonably certain that the College copies cannot be the same as those disposed of in Governor Eaton's will.

But I pause here to bring out another obscure element in the story. The language of the Governor's will is, "certain books lately belonging to my brother Mr. Samuel Eaton, *intended for the use of a College,*" and there is not any declaration that they were meant for the use of the town in general.

Now in 1656, when this bequest was made, Davenport was earnestly advocating a scheme for higher education in New Haven, which included a College, for the foundation of which a grant had been secured from the town some eight years before. It was therefore altogether natural that the Governor should at that date incorporate in his will a phrase which looked towards such an institution; but not long after the prospect materially changed. Davenport deserted the Colony in 1668, mainly from chagrin at its absorption into Connecticut, and the College plan was thereafter quite in abeyance, if not thought to be extinct. So that the books which had once been "intended" by one or both of the Eatons "for the use of a college," reverted not unnaturally to the custody of the town, and are described in the later references to them as "the Townes Books."

It is time, however, to inquire what the books were which thus came to constitute what I have ventured to describe as our earliest public library. For the list we are indebted to some unknown official chronicler—perhaps the secretary, James Bishop (the writing strongly resembles his)—who has inserted among the records of the meetings of the "Townes men," *i. e.*, selectmen, for the year 1670, what he has styled "A Catalogue of the Townes Bookes left by Mr. Eaton with Mr. Davenport for the towne of New Haven as it

was taken at Mr. Davenports the 28th of the 5th month [*i. e.*, July] 1658," which was two months after the probate of Governor Eaton's will. The transcriber has done his part with commendable accuracy and clearness, as may be judged by the fact that so far as the ink is legible not more than three or four items in the list fail of satisfactory identification.

The fact of such an entry in the records was recalled to the notice of the present generation by a member of this Society, Captain Charles H. Townshend, some two or three years ago; at which time Captain Townshend printed in one of our daily papers an imperfect transcript of the entire entry.

The heading above quoted is followed by a list of about 96 titles, representing a little over a hundred volumes (perhaps two-thirds of them in Latin), mainly theological, and solid and bulky at that. The author most numerously represented is John Calvin, with eleven Latin folios, including his Institutes of Religion and a nearly complete set of his Commentaries on Scripture; and next to him comes David Pareus, sometime an eminent German divine of the Reformed Church, with eight volumes, likewise mainly of Commentaries. Naturally, with these helps, the collection is found to be strongest on the exegetical side—more than a quarter of the whole number of titles being of this description.

But other departments of theological learning are also richly represented, especially dogmatics, practical theology, including sermons, and various branches of polemics—notably defences of Independent as opposed to Episcopal church government; and as might be expected the more noted expounders of the Congregational polity, such as John Robinson and Henry Ainsworth, are prominently included.

Plutarch and Vergil in Latin and Ovid in English are the more important classical authors represented; while Sir Thomas More's Utopia and Erasmus's Proverbs stand for modern Latin literature; and English literature, properly so called, is a blank, except for the Ovid just referred to, which is George Sandys's poetical version of the Metamorphoses.

In general history the only author is Sir Walter Raleigh; for ecclesiastical history, there is nothing but Foxe's Book of Martyrs; and for geography, Heylyn's Cosmography.

In mental philosophy there are two or three inferior Latin manuals, and in science the collection is even more markedly deficient; in fact the only books which can under any canon be credited to that side appear to be Keckermann's System of Mathematics and two medical treatises of little note—Barrough's Method of Physic, and an Anatomy of which the author cannot be identified.

I might rehearse the catalogue in brief, but it is better to ask leave to append it in detail to my paper.

It is almost needless to add that this ancient public library has totally disappeared and left no trace of its existence beyond the barren catalogue, which at the latest does not continue the history of the collection more than a dozen years after its probable transfer from Mr. Davenport's hands to the town's keeping. There remains a boundless field of conjecture as to the manner in which since 1670 these scores of ponderous folios and quartos have been scattered to the winds. A modern Connecticut writer has made "The Lost Library" a subject for a novel; but here at our very door is a like mystery which challenges elucidation, and I for one cannot solve it.

It would be interesting to compare this collection of books with any similar collections brought to this region in the same generation; but material for such a comparison is scanty. In the case of John Davenport's library we have nothing but the single item of books in the inventory of his estate, which stands at £233 17s.; at Hartford in Thomas Hooker's case is a similar item of books valued at £300, and in Samuel Stone's case the corresponding item of £127. John Cotton of Boston left books valued by himself at £150 "though having cost much more"; and John Norton £300 worth,—729 vols. in all, of which nearly one-fourth were folios; while John Wilson, whom Davenport succeeded in Boston, left less than £20 worth.

The most obvious parallel, however, is with the remarkable library of about 400 volumes, gathered by Elder William Brewster, of Plymouth, and inventoried in full detail after his death in 1644, when it was valued at the surprisingly low figure of less than £43. That marvelous collection, which raises one's respect for the intellectual standing of the Plymouth Colony greatly beyond all other testimony yet adduced, is of far wider and more varied interest than this, and deserves, as it has already had,[263] special study. About five-sixth of the books are in the English language, as contrasted with two-sixths here, and the range of subjects represented is much more extended than in the New Haven library. Indeed the former is vastly more appropriate for use as a town-library than ours can ever have been; if it had none of the fiction which our age demands, it might boast of more than a dozen volumes of poetry and two dozen of history, with a much larger number of curious miscellaneous lore. But to speak candidly I cannot conceive that the "Townes Library" here could be of any practical

[263] H. M. Dexter in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Oct., 1889.

use, except to a professed theologian who was also a skilled Latinist, like its original owner. Outside the scanty tale of books in the vernacular included among those I have mentioned (Foxe's Book of Martyrs, Raleigh's History of the World, Heylyn's Cosmography, George Sandys's poetical translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, an unnamed book on military discipline, and a Method of Physic), the only other refuge for the ordinary English reader was those solid tomes of theology which his descendant of this century would never dream of opening. Elder Brewster's library, on the other hand, though still far removed from what the moderns would expect, was not ill adapted for the mental food of a specially intelligent English-speaking community of that date. But that library was dispersed on Elder Brewster's death, intestate, among his heirs, and like ours here has vanished inexplicably from sight.[264]

I revert for a moment, before I close, to the paragraph from Governor Eaton's will which formed my text, to complete the account which he gives of the balance of the hundred-pound legacy for which he had assumed the responsibility. He says, in substance, that he had probably spent £80 in fittings for the ship "Fellowship"; and the published Colony Records show that a ship of this name was built and equipped for intercolonial and foreign trade by a syndicate of New Haven merchants in 1646 and 7.

The vessel is identified by the same Records as in use at least as late as 1649, and so is not to be confused with the famous "phantom ship," which was built near the same time and furnished the fabric for our earliest and most fascinating New Haven ghost story. About the disappearance of the "Fellowship" there is no weird halo of mystery like this; it is simply that those generations had no adequate chronicles of ships, of libraries, or of the daily lives of silent heroism which men and women lived in these squares and streets, unremembered and unsung.

APPENDIX.

[To the following list are added identifications, as far as possible, of the various items, and when the rarer volumes are in the Library of Yale University that fact is stated.]

A Catalogue of the Townes Bookes Left [by] Mr. Eaton, wth. Mr. Davenport for the towne of New Haven as it was taken at Mr. Davenpts ye 28th 5th mo. 1658.

[264] Mr. Henry T. Blake, in his entertaining *Chronicles of New Haven Green*, published since this paper was written, informs us (p. 200) that in 1689 the town sold to the Rev. James Pierpont, for £12 18s., the books then in hand; very probably in this way some of the identical volumes may have passed to the Library of Yale College.

I. Bookes in folio

Calvini

1. Institutiones. [Jean Calvin: Institutio Christianæ Religionis. In many editions.]

2. Commentarium in Genesin, cum harmonia in reliquos 4 libros Mosis. [J. Calvin: In V. libros Mosis commentarii. Genesis seorsim; reliqui in formam harmoniæ digesti . . . Genevæ, 1595. In Yale Library.]

3. In Job. [J. Calvin: In librum Iobi conciones . . . Genevæ, 1593. In Yale Library.]

4. In psalmos. [J. Calvin: Commentarivs in librvm Psalmorvm. Genevæ, 1578. In Yale Library.]

5. In Isaiam. [J. Calvin: Commentarii in Isaiam prophetam. 4th edition, Geneva, 1583. In Yale Library.]

6. In Jeremiam & Lamentationes. [J. Calvin: Prælectiones in librvm prophetiarvm Jeremiæ, et Lamentationes. Editio tertia. Genevæ, 1589. In Yale Library.]

7. In Ezekielem & Danielem. [J. Calvin: Praelectiones in Ezechielis Prophetae XX capita priora . . . Genevæ, 1583; and, bound with it, Praelectiones in librum prophetiarum Danielis. Genevæ, 1591. In Yale Library.]

8. In minores prophetas. [J. Calvin: Prælectiones in XII. Prophetas (qvos vocant) Minores. Genevæ, 1610. In Yale Library.]

9. In quatuor Evangelia. [J. Calvin: Harmonia ex Evangelistis tribvs composita, Matthæo, Marco, & Lvca . . . Et in Iohannem Evangelistam commentarivs. Genevae, 1595. In Yale Library.]

10. In acta Apostolorum. [J. Calvin: Commentarii in Acta Apostolorvm, recogniti. Genevæ, 1609. In Yale Library.]

11. In omnes Pauli Epistolas. [J. Calvin: Commentarii in omnes Pauli Apostoli Epistolas . . . Genevæ, 1600. In Yale Library.]

12. Ainsworth on the Pentatuke & psalmes & Canticles. [Henry Ainsworth: Annotations vpon the Five Bookes of Moses, the Booke of the Psalmes, and the Song of Songs. London, 1627. In Yale Library.]

13. Zanchi Opera, 3 volumes. [Girolamo Zanchi: Omnia Opera theologica. Genevæ, 1619. 8 vols. bound in 3. In Yale Library.]

14. Ferd: Quirini De Sal^{r}. Defens. [Ferdinandus Quirinus de Salazar: Defensio pro immaculata Deiparæ Virginis Conceptione. In Yale Library.]

15. Tossani Index. [Jacques Toussain (Jacobus Tussanus or Tossanus): Index in Sacra Biblia ex Latina Tremellii et Junii versione et Bezae collectum.]

16. Scapulæ Græcum Lexicon. [Johannes Scapula: Lexicon Græco-Latinvm novvm . . . Many editions. In Yale Library, Basileae, 1615, and Basileae, 1628.]

17. Junii Opera, in 2 volumes. [Franciscus Junius: Opera theologica. Genevæ, 1613. In Yale Library.]

18. S^r. Walter Raughley's History of y^e world. [The Historie of the World. Anonymous. London, 1634. In Yale Library.]

19. Plutarci Opera. [Many editions.]

20. Salazar in Proverb. [Ferd. Quirinus de Salazar: Expositiones in Proverbia.]

21. D^r. Halls Workes. [Joseph Hall: Works. London, 1620-21; also, London, 1634. In Yale Library.]

Erasmi Adagia. [Inserted here after this part of the list was drawn up, in the ink used in the later part of the list. Many editions.]

22. Swarez in 2 volumes. [Francisco Suarez: Metaphysicæ Disputationes. Paris, 1619. In Yale Library.]

23. Concordanti^e in y^e Biblia. [Probably, Johannes Buxtorf: Concordantiæ Bibliorum Hebraicæ . . . Basileæ, 1632. In Yale Library.]

24. Fabritius in psalmos. [Stephanus Fabricius: Sacræ Conciones in CL. Psalmos Davidis . . . Genevæ, 1620. In Yale Library.]

25. Acts & monument. in 2 voll. [John Foxe: Actes and monuments of matters most speciall and memorable, happenyng in the Church . . . London, 1583 or 1596.]

26. Dion: Alix: Romanæ Antiquitates. [Dionysius Halicarnassensis. In many editions.]

27. Junii Opera in 2 volumes. [Repetition of No. 17, *supra*.]

28. Peter Mart^r, com: in Judg & Samuell. [Pietro Martire Vermigli: Commentarii in librum Judicum et in duos libros Samuelis.]

29. Siegedini Loci communes. [Stephanus Szegedinus: Theologiæ sinceræ Loci Communes.]

30. Ovid Metamor: in English verse. [Ovidis: Metamorphosis Englished . . . By G. S(andys). Oxford, 1632. In Yale Library.]

31. 1 paper booke in Leath^r. cover.

2. Bookes In 4^to

1. Polani Sunetagma, in 2 vol. [Amandus Polanus: Syntagma theologiæ Christianæ.]

[At this point the record was interrupted; what follows is in a different ink.]

2. Pareus In Genesis. [David Pareus: In Genesin Mosis Commentarivs . . Genevae, 1614. In Yale Library.]

3. In Hoseah. [D. Pareus: Commentarius in Hoseam Prophetam.]

4. In Romanes. [D. Pareus: In divinam ad Romanos S. Pauli . . Epistolam commentarius.]

5. In 1st epistle to ye Corinthians. [D. Pareus: Commentarius in I. epistolam ad Corinthios.]

6. In Galathians. [D. Pareus: In divinam ad Galatas S. Pavli . . epistolam commentarivs . . . Heidelbergæ, 1613. In Yale Library.]

7. In Hebreos. [D. Pareus: In divinam ad Hebræos S. Pavli . . epistolam commentarivs . . Heidelbergæ, 1614. In Yale Library.]

8. In Apocalypsin Johannis. [D. Pareus: Commentarius in apocalypsin Johannis.]

9. Rivetus In Decalogon. [André Rivet: Praelectiones in cap. XX. Exodi . . In qvibvs explicatur Decalogus . . Lugdvni Batavorvm, 1637. In Yale Library.]

10. A fresh Suite against Seremon . . [William Ames: A Fresh Svit against Hvmane Ceremonies in Gods Worship. (Anonymous.) 1633. In Yale Library.]

11. Mr. Jno. Downeham against some abuses. [John Downame: Foure Treatises tending to disswade all Christians from the Abuses of Swearing, Drunkennesse, Whoredome, and Bribery.]

12. Dr. Lait: Zions Plea. [Alexander Leighton: An Appeal to the Parliament; or Sions Plea against the Prelacie. 1628. In Yale Library.]

13. Mr. Dodd & Clever. [John Dod and Robert Cleaver: A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandments. Or, Ten Sermons on the Lord's Supper.]

14. Ainsworth against Johnson. [Henry Ainsworth: A Reply to a Pretended Christian Plea for the Anti-Christian Church of Rome: Published by Mr. F. Johnson. 1620. In Yale Library.]

15. Mr Robinson Def: Syn: [John Robinson: A Defence of the Doctrine propovnded by the Synode at Dort . . 1624. In Yale Library.]

16. Junius & Tremelius Biblie. [Biblia Sacra: the modern Latin version by L. Tremellius and F. Junius. In many editions.]

17. Heilins Cosmographye. [Peter Heylyn: Μικροκοσμος. A little description of the Great World.]

18. Mr. Sprint for Conformity. [John Sprint: Cassander Anglicanvs; Shewing, the Necessity of Conformitie to the prescribed ceremonies of our Church, in Case of Depriuation. London, 1618. In Yale Library.]

19. Tho: Goodwins aggravation of sin. [Thomas Goodwin: Aggravation of Sinne . . Delivered in severall sermons.]

20. Bains Epitomie. [Paul Baynes: An Epitome of Man's Misery and Deliverie: in a Sermon . . .]

21. Dr. Prestons new Covenant. [John Preston: The New Covenant, or The Saints Portion. (Edited by Richard Sibbes and John Davenport, London, 1629).]

22. Mr. Robis: Religious Communion. [John Robinson: Of Religious Commvnion Private, & Publique. 1614. In Yale Library.]

23. Jackson; Essence & Attributes. [Thomas Jackson: A Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes.]

24. Replye to Mr. Downhams defence. [A Replye answering a Defence of the Sermon, preached at the Consecration of the Bishop of Bathe and Welles, by G. Downame. 1613. In Yale Library.]

25. 1 papr. booke in Leather.

26. Bullings Decades. [Heinrich Bullinger: Fiftie Godlie and Learned Sermons, divided into Five Decades . . . London, 1587. In Yale Library.]

27. Lawsens (?) Anatomy.

28. 1 papr. booke in parchment.

3. Books in 8°, 12° & 16°.

1. Dan: Pareus in Ursini cat. . . . [Explicationvm catecheticarvm Z. Vrsini absolvtvm opus . . D. Parei operâ . . recognitum . . . 1608. In Yale Library.]

2. John Buxta. [Some work of J. Buxtorf.]

3. New test. in greeke wth. notes. [In many editions.]

4. Eustak: summa philos: [Frater Eustachius: Summa Philosophiæ quadripartita. Cantabrigiæ, 1610; also, Coloniæ, 1616. In Yale Library.]

5. Beza in cantick. [Canticum Canticorum Solomonis versibus et commentariis illustratum . . adversus trochaicam Theodori Bezæ paraphrasim.]

6. Opera Virgill cum notat. [In many editions.]

7. Tileni Suntag. [Daniel Tilenus: Syntagmatis tripartiti dispvtationvm theologicarvm partes III. Herbornæ, 1607; also, Genevæ, 1622. In Yale Library.]

8. Kecker, Syst. mathem. [Bartholomäus Keckermann: Systema totious Mathematices.]

9. Goler . . . . . & Econ.

10. Piscatr. Scolia in Math. [Johannes Piscator, or Johann Fischer: Scholia in Matthæum.]

11. Ainsworth against Smith. [Henry Ainsworth: A Defence of the Holy Scriptures, Worship, and Ministerie, used in the Christian Churches . . Against the challenges . . of M. Smyth. . . Amsterdam, 1609. In Yale Library.]

12. Dictiona: nomin. propria.

13. Merlini in Hester. [Pierre Merlin: Commentarius in Librum Estheræ.]

14. Thomae Mori Utopia. [Sir Thomas More: Utopia. In many editions.]

15. Bp. of Winchesters true obed . . . [Stephen Gardiner: An Oration touching True Obedience, 1553.]

16. Martins hebrew Grammar. [Pierre Martinius: The Key of the Holy Tongue: wherein is conteined . . the Hebrue Grammar . . Englished . . by I. Udall.]

17. Buxtor. [Some work by John Buxtorf.]

18. Dr. Denison. [Probably some work by John Denison, D.D., died 1629.]

19. Dr. Riveti Disputat. & Miscell . . . [André Rivet: Disputationes theologicae et Miscellanea.]

20. Barro Meth: Phisik: [Philip Barrough: The Method of Physick.]

21. Mr Torsels Saints humiliation. [Samuel Torshell: The Saints Hvmiliation. Being 9 . . Sermons. London, 1633. In Yale Library.]

22. Trog: pomp: Justine history. [The Abridgement of the Historyes of Trogus Pompeius, gathered . . by the famous Hystoriographer Iustine, & translated . . by Arthur Golding. London, 1578. In Yale Library.]

23. Dr. Amis Antisinodal: [William Ames: Anti-Synodalia scripta . . Amstelodami, 1633. In Yale Library.]

24. Dr. Amis Sciag: [Wm. Ames: Christianæ Catecheseos Sciagraphia. Franekeræ, 1635. In Yale Library.]

25. Dr. Amis against Grevitt. [Wm. Ames: Rescriptio Scholastica & brevis ad Nic. Grevinchovii Responsum . . . quod opposuit Dissertationi de Redemptione . . . Lvgdvni Batavorvm, 1633. In Yale Library.]

26. Comestor. pansophia.

27. Culvr. on Faith. [Ezekiel Culverwell: A Treatise of Faith.]

. . . . . .

. . Explicatio Disput. polit.

. . Keckermann Syst. Logicae. [Bartholomäus Keckermann: Systema Logicæ . . . Editio secunda. 1603. In Yale Library.]

. . Pasoris Lexicon Novi testa. [Georg Pasor: Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum.]

. . Lattine bible.

. . Greeke Grammar.

. . Militarie discipline. [Perhaps, The Souldier's Accidence. Or an introduction into Military Discipline . . By G(ervase) M(arkham). London, 1625.]

. Practice of ye faithfull. [A work of this title, by J. T., London, 1684, is in the British Museum.]

. . Hebrew Biblie in two pts. lent to . . . Kimberly Long since per . . Govs. Order.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS.

[From the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, March, 1901.]

I trust I shall not be misunderstood in venturing, though a layman, to discuss briefly the manuscripts of New England's great theologian. They have come under my scrutiny as a librarian, and I cannot help taking stock of them as human documents, without pretending to appraise them theologically.

In January, 1758, Edwards left Stockbridge to go to Princeton for inauguration as President of the College of New Jersey. His eldest unmarried daughter went with him, while the rest of the family and their household effects, including his books and papers, were to follow when summer opened. His sudden death occurred on March 22, and when his widow died in the ensuing fall there were left two married and four unmarried daughters and three sons. The eldest son had already been graduated at Princeton, and remained for some years in New Jersey, not following a profession; while the other sons were at their father's death respectively nearly thirteen and eight years of age.

Edwards had made his last will in 1753, and his estate, valued at over £900, was settled the year after his death. The will gave his manuscripts to Mrs. Edwards, and in the inventory are entered under this head fifteen folio and fifteen quarto volumes, besides 1,074 sermons,—the whole appraised at £6. The manuscript collection which I am to speak of appears to contain the major part of the folios and quartos thus enumerated, and more than the requisite number of sermons.

In 1765, while the only son who followed his father's line of study was still an undergraduate, Edwards's pupil, Samuel Hopkins, of Great Barrington, published two volumes from the manuscripts. In 1774 the son just referred to, Jonathan Edwards the younger, then a pastor in New Haven, began, in connection with Dr. Erskine, of Edinburgh, the publication of what became a series of four volumes derived from the same sources. But he died early, in 1801, leaving in the care of his executor the remaining material. In 1809 a uniform edition, in four volumes, of Edwards's Works was issued by the Rev. Samuel Austin, of Worcester, but this included nothing before unprinted.

After this President Dwight, a grandson, contemplated at the request of his uncles the preparation of a new life, and had for this purpose a portion, at least, of the manuscripts for some time in his keeping. There is also good evidence that President Dwight's son, Dr. Sereno E. Dwight, received from his father, who died in 1817, an injunction to carry out the work not yet accomplished, and accordingly soon began to gather material, securing some manuscripts by gift and copies of others, and finally completing in 1829 the issue of the collected works in ten volumes, the first of which is occupied by a Life. A portion of this material is believed to have been secured by Dr. Dwight at Windsor, Connecticut, the home of Edwards's boyhood.

Dr. Dwight's collection of manuscripts and copies was bequeathed at his death in 1850 to his brother, the Rev. Dr. William T. Dwight, of Portland, Maine. This collection, which is now at Andover, embraces many papers of the highest interest, including personal and family letters and early speculative and scientific writings. The main collection, which had been loaned to Dr. Sereno E. Dwight, was by a written agreement of the surviving grandchildren placed in 1847 in the hands of a great-grandson, the Rev. Dr. Tryon Edwards, then of New London, Connecticut, as trustee, with the understanding that he might arrange for a new edition of the Life and Works. A scheme for such an edition, under the care of Dr. William T. Dwight (who was to contribute the Life), Professor Edwards A. Park, and Dr. Tryon Edwards, was for some years under discussion. In the meantime, in 1854, the Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, of Scotland, visited New London to examine the Tryon Edwards collection,[265] and took with him on his return some portions of it, to be copied and prepared for such an edition.

Finally, perhaps about 1870, Dr. Edwards loaned what was in his hands to Professor Park, who contemplated the preparation of a new Life; and about ten years ago a number of the surviving great-grandchildren, under the efficient lead of Mr. Eli Whitney, senior, of New Haven, united in signing an agreement that after Professor Park had done with them the manuscripts thus loaned should be deposited in the Library of Yale University. Professor Park died in June, 1900, and the manuscripts were received at Yale in August.

To come now to the contents of the New Haven collection. In the first place, negatively, it does not contain any of Edwards's

[265] A brief account of the collection is printed in "The Independent" of December 23, 1852.

more famous early writings, such as the "Resolutions," the "Diary," and those remarkable illustrations of precocity, the "Notes on the Mind and on Natural Science";[266] and with one slight exception, it contains none of his correspondence.

As might be expected, the largest item in the inventory of his mature productions is an immense number of sermons—between eleven and twelve hundred, of varying degrees of completeness—more than one-third, that is, of the whole number which would have been required, at the rate of two a week, for the thirty years of his career as an ordained minister.

Such an amount of material gives of course the means of tracing very fully the author's sermonizing habits. For manuscript he used folds of paper stitched together, of a convenient size to be laid in a small preaching Bible or held directly in one hand while resting the elbow on the desk,—the size of the paper ranging from three to four inches in width and from four to six in length.

In date of composition, the sermons fall naturally into four groups.

There are, first, about fifty, undated, of uniform size and appearance, which from the handwriting and other indications undoubtedly belong to the earliest years of his ministry,—some probably antedating even his settlement at Northampton.

Next come about five hundred, on pages of a smaller size, usually written out in full, or approximately so, and mostly with the month and year in which they were first preached.[267]

Then, about 1741, he gets more into the habit of using outlines instead of fully written sermons, and we have about three hundred and fifty specimens of this sort, prepared in the last decade of his Northampton pastorate, quite a number of which were repeated in Stockbridge; while there is also a fourth group, on still another size and shape of paper, of about one hundred and seventy-five briefer outlines of sermons prepared for the Mohawks at Stockbridge, in which the themes are evidently much more simply treated.

Supplementary to the sermons is an interesting volume of a hundred and fifty pages, apparently begun about 1738, and filled with plans of discourses and the enumeration of texts from which the writer proposed to preach, with the doctrines deducible from them. A study of this volume only deepens the impression that preaching was a matter of great joy to Edwards, and that the change from Northampton to Stockbridge, where there was next to no need for

[266] What Dr. Dwight, in his Life (pp. 41, 42, 702, 703), calls the cover page to the "Notes on Natural Science" is, however, here.

[267] Edwards adopted this custom of noting the date in 1733.

this kind of preparation, was painful for this reason also, that it removed an incentive to a specially attractive exercise of mental power.

Everything so far enumerated is unpublished; but besides these there is a group of about fifty sermons, more or less fully written out, which appear in Edwards's printed works. These have a special interest, in the case of those which he himself sent to the press, as showing how much the original manuscript was elaborated in delivery or in printing.

For instance, here is one of his most famous sermons, "Sinners in the hands of an angry God," which was, as appears from the margin, prepared for his own people in June, 1741, and was preached with such startling effect the following month at Enfield.[268] The tradition is that in the delivery this was closely read from the manuscript; but the original shows that the discourse was not entirely written out, so that the tradition is hardly to be relied on.

There is rather an unusual proportion of "occasional sermons," on Fasts, Thanksgivings, Deaths, Quarterly Lectures, Contribution Lectures, Society Meetings, Private Meetings, Children's Meetings, etc.

The few specimens of distinctive preaching to children are expositions of texts which our degenerate days would consider strong meat for such a purpose. One, for example, is from 2 Kings ii. 23, 24: "And he went up from thence unto Bethel: and as he was going up by the way, there came forth little children out of the city, and mocked him, and said unto him, Go up, thou bald head; go up, thou bald head. And he turned back, and looked on them, and cursed them in the name of the Lord. And there came forth two she bears out of the wood, and tare forty and two children of them." And a second is from Matthew x. 37: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." I ought to add that the doctrine inculcated in these cases seems less hard than the texts.

In such a long series of sermons there cannot fail to be some that connect themselves with striking events in the preacher's life. Such are, to mention only a few, the one preached from Job xiv. 2, on the Sabbath after the death of his second daughter, Jerusha, who was betrothed to David Brainerd, though this was strictly an old sermon, preached seven years before "at a private meeting of young people after Billy Sheldon's Death," and now provided with a new "application." There is one of peculiar interest from Jeremiah

[268] In the collection is another earlier (undated) sermon from the same text, with a different line of argument.

xxiii. 29, preached in April, 1749, just at the height of the fierce controversy which ended the speaker's Northampton career; and another, one of the very latest which he preached there, before his dismission, the text of which, Isaiah xxxii. 17, 18, is suggestive of the peaceable spirit which he strove to inculcate. There is also one of the latest (from Luke xxi. 36) to his Indian flock at Stockbridge.

There is at least one,[269] and I think more, marked as preached at Northampton during his residence in Stockbridge, and similarly in the book of plans of sermons there are in the same period at least three notes of texts and doctrines marked as designed for Northampton, though it is commonly said that he never occupied his old pulpit after his dismission.

Among the general impressions about the way in which he did his work as a preacher, one of the first is, as already intimated, that he found sermon-writing very easy and very enjoyable. And besides the spontaneity and copiousness of it, there is about his ordinary style great simplicity and directness, and if I may so say, a certain unexpected freshness and modernness,—not at all the impression of aridity and remorseless logic which one might have looked for. In fact, the impression of the manuscripts as a whole is to make Edwards seem very human, with much more of the yearning and pleading attitude of a devout pastor than the aloofness and absorption of an abstract metaphysician.

The spelling throughout is almost unexceptionable,—far better than in the ordinary clerical manuscript of his century. The handwriting is minute and often illegible, but intentionally so, as only meant for his own eye; what he writes for others is plain enough. He used a shorthand of his own devising (remarkable mainly for its obscurity) in some of his early manuscripts, and continued to use it to a limited extent, chiefly in brief memoranda on his sermons and seemingly for economy of space rather than for concealment of thought.

Down to the time when he adopted the habit of using outlines rather than fully written sermons, he was fairly particular in having good paper, evenly cut and folded. But during the latter half of his ministry it is the exception to find his notes written on fresh, unused paper. He utilized scraps of all obtainable sorts,—bills; family and business letters; physicians' prescriptions; marriage publishments; requests for prayers and for thanksgivings in the meeting-house; children's copy-books; fly-leaves, title-pages, and margins of books; proof-sheets; circulars; proclamations;

[269] From 2 Cor. iv. 6. Preached in May, 1755.

subscription papers for his own books; and most frequently of all, scraps of the thin soft paper said to have been used by his wife and daughters in making fans.

To illustrate, we find employed as sermon paper several specimens of Mrs. Edwards's letters and several of his own. Thus, from a sermon preached in May, 1743, on Ephesians iv. 15, 16, the following to his wife is rescued:—

LEBANON at Mr. Metcalf's, March 25, 1743.

DEAR SPOUSE,—I recieved this morning by Mr Potwine the short Letter you sent me, with the Books, papers &c—for which I thank you. By this I would inform you that I have been considerably amiss since I came from home; riding in such tempestuous weather increased my cold, and almost overcame me. But am now a little better. I faild of seeing Mr Wheelock as I came down, and so had no opportunity to agree with him about the alteration of the time of my absence from home: but intended notwithstanding to have gone home next week. But many ministers have been urging me to go to New-London, but I refused unless a number of them would go with me: and last night Mr Meacham, Mr Williams & Mr Pumroy agreed to go down with me the next week, to endeavour to reclaim the People there from their Errours. So that I believe I shall not be at home till the week after next. Give my Love to my Children & Mr Wheelock. Br. & Sister Metcalf give their Love to you & the Children. Remember me in your Prayers. I am my dearest Companion

Your affectionate Consort

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

The allusion to New London is understood by recalling the bonfires of unsound religious books which the fanatical followers of the crazy revivalist, James Davenport, had kindled there two or three weeks before.

The household bills preserved in the same way give us occasional items of interest: as when a jeweller's account shows that Mrs. Edwards had purchased in 1743 "a Gold Locket & Chane" for £11, we have a right to feel that her rare graces of spirit were not disjoined from a human love for the beautiful. And again, when we find the great preacher charged twice in a list of common household goods at three months' interval with "one dozen of long pipes," we feel that he too had his human side and his solace for overmuch study. But perhaps the most gratifying of all is a little entry in the midst of humdrum purchases of foolscap paper and sealing-wax and Bayley's spelling-books,—"1 childs Plaything, 4/6." A glimpse of Jonathan Edwards buying playthings for his children is worth all the rest of the sermon. As it happens, the same sermon is written in part (in July, 1744) on a leaf of an old writing-book on which familiar rhymes of the "New England

Primer" have been copied as exercises by the two of these self-same children, Esther and Mary, who were in turn to be the mothers of the two most widely known, not equally honored, grandchildren of Jonathan Edwards,—Aaron Burr and Timothy Dwight.

After the sermons the most voluminous section of our manuscripts is the commonplace book, well known to students of Edwards by the name of "Miscellaneous Observations," or "Miscellanies," as he himself called them. From this source mainly were selected the two volumes, published at Edinburgh in 1793-96, with the titles "Miscellaneous Observations on important Theological Subjects," and "Remarks on important Theological Controversies." These portions were reprinted by Dr. Dwight in his edition of 1829, with a few supplementary extracts, making nearly five hundred pages in all; but these are only a fragment of the whole amount, which is here in eight folio or quarto volumes, aggregating over 1,400 minutely written pages. They were begun at an early age, and continued to be added to until near the close of the writer's life. They are all theological, but, as the title implies, entirely disconnected, following each other in numerical order up to No. 1,360[270] (or more exactly 1,412, as two alphabetical series preceded the numbers); and no representation of Edwards as a thinker is quite complete so long as so many of these "Miscellanies" are still in manuscript.

I should add that our associate Professor Egbert C. Smyth published in 1880 a few additional selections. One of these, entitled "Observations concerning the Scripture Œconomy of the Trinity and Covenant of Redemption," was printed from a copy apparently prepared for the son, Dr. Jonathan Edwards, when publishing the volume of "Miscellaneous Observations" above referred to. The other extracts were from the copies made for Dr. Sereno Dwight.

Another large item in the collection is a Bible, interleaved, in quarto, which Edwards seems to have acquired as late as 1748, and which is nearly filled with comparatively brief exegetical, doctrinal, and practical notes. Mr. Grosart printed in 1865 a hundred and twenty pages of excerpts from this volume. Entirely distinct from this is a series of longer manuscript "Notes on the Bible," in three quarto volumes, a good part of which appeared in Dwight's edition of the Works.

[270] I find a note in one of Edwards's MS. sermons (on Rom. iv. 5), which was written in November, 1734, and published in 1738, referring to "No. 668" of this series. It is clear, then, that he had reached this number by 1738, at the latest.

Of the manuscripts of other published writings than those already mentioned, there are, I believe, but two,—that of a portion of the work on the "Doctrine of Original Sin," and an early draft of the "Reply to Solomon Williams on the Qualifications for Communion."

Some briefer manuscripts may be mentioned less in detail. There is, for instance, a thin folio, "Images [or "Shadows"] of Divine Things," which seems from the handwriting to be almost as early in date as anything in the collection; it was at one time intended for publication, and two alternative titles are given on the fly-leaf; namely, "The Book of Nature and Common Providence" and "The Language and Lessons of Nature." The conception of the treatise is to illustrate Scripture and God's dealings with men by the types of natural events, reminding one of a passage in Edwards's Diary, of August 28, 1723, where he writes: "When I want books to read; yea, when I have not very good books, not to spend time in reading them, but in reading the Scriptures, in perusing Resolutions, &c., in *writing on Types of the Scripture* and other things."

I quote one section of the work by way of example:—

"73. The way of a Cat with a mouse that it has taken captive is a lively emblem of the way of the devil with many wicked men. A mouse is a foul unclean creature a fit type of a wicked man. Levit. 11, 29, These also shall be unclean—The weasel & the mouse. Isai. 66, 17, Eating swines Flesh and the abomination & the mouse. The Cat makes a play & sport of the poor mouse, so the devil does as it were make himself sport with a wicked man. The cat lets the mouse go & it seems to have escaped, it hopes it is delivered but is suddenly catched up again before it can get clear & so time after time the mouse makes many vain attempts, thinks it self free when it is still a captive, is taken up again by the Jaws & into the Jaws of its devourer as if it were just going to be destroyed but then is let go again, but never quite escapes till at last it yields its life to its Enemy & is crushed between his teeth & totally devoured. So many wicked men especially under false Professions of Religion & sinners under Gospel Light are led captive by Satan at his will, are under the power & dominion of their lusts & tho they have many struggles of Conscience about their sins yet never wholly escape them, when they seem to escape they fall into them again & so again & again till at length they are totally & utterly devoured by Satan."

Of another manuscript of similar appearance, but miscellaneous in contents, the date may be in part inferred from a long series of questions on Old Testament history, which is found at the end, and which were assigned as topics for investigation to boys in the Northampton congregation, whose names are given, about 1735-40, —a sort of early substitute for the modern Sunday-school or Bible class. The date of these pages, which may be confidently assumed,

is of interest in connection with an essay which stands first within the same covers. This is an early metaphysical and scholastic but entirely orthodox argument on the Trinity, without title, which is thought to be the treatise alluded to by Professor Park in two articles in the "Bibliotheca Sacra" for 1881, which were called out by the publication of Professor Smyth to which I have already alluded.

There are also a very few separate papers of personal interest,—perhaps the most important being a series of half a dozen letters to Joseph Bellamy, a favorite pupil and friend. I select one as a specimen of Edwards's familiar correspondence:—

DEAR SIR,—I receiv'd your Letter by Mr Strong this day. Mr. Searl was here at my House presently after, and I gave your Questions to him, and told him the Bearer intended quickly to return.

(As to the affair of sheep, I am much obliged to you for the Pains you have taken. I believe you have acted the Part of a trusty Friend therein. I suppose it is known by this time, whether the man that went to Newtown has succeeded. If he has, & the sheep are bought, we shall rest on what you have done; but if not, & you shall have found no opportunity 'till this Letter reaches you, it is so late in the year, that I desire you would keep the money 'till shearing Time is over, & then buy; when I suppose they may be bought much cheaper than now. But I would pray you to send us word by the first opportunity, that if we are not like to have any sheep this year, we may seasonably be looking out, & laying in for wool else-where, for the supply of the Family. In the spring, if you can give us any encouragement, I should be glad to lay out 60£ more for sheep in those parts, as soon as shearing time is over, besides the 30£ you have in your Hands. But, if you buy so many sheep for us, it might be perhaps expedient, on some accounts, for the present, not to let it be known who the sheep are for.)

As to the Books you speak of: Mastrict is sometimes in one vol. a very thick large Quarto; sometimes in two Quarto volumes. I believe it could not be had new under 8 or 10 Pounds. Turretine is in three vols. in Quarto, and would probably be about the same Price. They are both excellent. Turretine is on Polemical divinity; on the 5 Points, & all other Controversial Points; & is much larger in these than Mastrict; & is better for one that desires only to be thoroughly versed in Controversies. But take Mastrict for divinity in general, doctrine Practice & Controversie; or as an universal system of divinity; & it is much better than Turretine, or any other Book in the world, excepting the Bible, in my opinion. I have Thoughts of sending myself this year to England, for a few Books, and have written to Mr. Quincy,[271] a merch^{t}. in Boston, about it, to desire his advice & assistance, as to the Course to be taken to obtain 'em. If I employ him to send for me, I shall be willing to serve you (as I desire you to serve me about the sheep. I am willing) to take your money, put it with my own, & put your Books into my Catalogue & have all come as mine; or shall be willing to serve you, if I can in any Respect, by writing to my Correspondents in Scotland.

I have been reading Whitby, which has engaged me pretty thoroughly in the study of the Arminian Controversy; and I have writ^{n}. considerably on it in

[271] Edmund Quincy (Harvard, 1722), the uncle of Josiah Quincy, Jr.

my private Papers. I must intreat you, if possible, to borrow for me Dr Stebbing, on the Spirit. I had rather pay something for the use of it, than not have some considerable opportunity with it. I have got so deep into this controversy, that I am not willing to dismiss it, 'till I know the utmost of these matters.

I have very lately received a Pacquet from Scotland, with several Copies of a memorial, for the continuing and propagating an Agreement for joint Prayer, for the general Revival of Religion: three of which I here send you, desiring you to dispose of two of 'em where they will be most serviceable. For my Part, I heartily wish it was fallen in with by all Christians from the rising to the setting sun.—I have returned you Mr Dickinsons Book, but must pray you to let me have further opportunity with Dr Johnsons.[272] If you could enquire of Dr Johnson, or Mr Beach, or some other, & find out what is the best Book on the Arminian side, for the defence of their notion of Free will; & whether there be any better & more full than Whitby, I should be glad; provided you have convenient opportunity. I don't know but I shall publish something after a while on that subject.[273]

Dear sir, we have so many affairs to confer upon, that concern us both, that I would propose you should come this way again in February or March. You han't a great Family to tie you at Home, as I have. But if you can't come I must desire you to write fully & largely on all the foregoing particulars of this Letter. Herein you will oblige, your cordial & affectionate Friend & Brother,

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

NORTHAMPTON Jan. 15, 1746, 7.

P. S. It now comes to my mind that I heard that Dr. Pynchon of Longmeadow, has Turretine, and that he lately offered to change it away for other Books; so that in all probability you may there have it at a moderate Price.

This letter shows, as do others, that Edwards took an active part in administering the worldly concerns of his household, though Hopkins in his "Life" gives Mrs. Edwards the credit of the charge of such things. And I may express with emphasis my conviction, on examining this mass of his papers, that Edwards himself was, with all his genius, altogether practical and efficient in business affairs. Hardly otherwise could he, after having portioned off three married daughters and sent a son through college, have left at his death what was for that time and place so really ample an estate as to be appraised at £900.

Anecdotes are repeated of his absent-mindedness; but there is in the manuscripts no suggestion of anything of this nature, unless it be his fashion of putting in large letters at the end of his sermons

[272] The reference is to "A Letter from Aristocles to Authades," Boston, 1745, anonymous, by the Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Connecticut; and "A Vindication of God's sovereign free Grace," Boston, 1746, by the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, of Elizabeth, New Jersey.

[273] The "Enquiry into the Freedom of the Will" did not appear until 1754.

minutes of church notices which he had to give, or official acts to be performed.

Passing over other papers of minor importance, I mention last what is in some respects the most interesting manuscript of the collection,—a thin quarto memorandum book, labelled on both covers in Edwards's hand simply "Catalogue." This is a book which he kept at hand from the period of his tutorship at Yale down to the last year of his life, and in which he jotted down from time to time various literary memoranda, mainly the titles of books which he heard of, or desired or intended to read, and other items, culled from his correspondence or from papers and magazines that came in his way, which excited his literary interest. The record is brief and fragmentary, and theological books naturally engross most of his attention; but it is as near to a literary autobiography of Edwards as we can get, and something in the nature of a revelation of the breadth of his horizon in the country solitudes of Northampton and the unbroken wilderness of Stockbridge.

Here, for instance, are a few of the entries on what appears as the opening leaf of this record of *legenda*,—a fold of a letter addressed to him while residing at Yale after graduation, that is, between the ages of 17 and 23. The six earliest are the Bible, Mr. Baxter's Life, Mr. Stoddard's Safety of Appearing, his manuscripts, The English Grammar, and Mr. Watts's Poems; and later on the same leaf—to name only some of the more significant non-theological items—there are The Guardian, Locke on Human Understanding, Milton's Paradise Lost, Luther's Colloquies, Quarles's Poems, Newton's Principia and Opticks, Scarburgh's Euclid, Cowper's Anatomy, Plutarch's Lives, and Walter Raleigh's History. In some of these cases the works were probably named for re-reading, notably so with Locke, who was a favorite author.

The scope of his special interests may be illustrated by a quotation from these early pages, where he writes:—

"Books to be enquired for.—The best Geography; the best history of the World; the best Exposition of the Apocalypse; the best General Ecclesiastical History from Xt. to the Present time; the best upon the types of the Scripture; which are the most usefull & necessary of the Fathers; the best Chronology; the best historical Dictionary, of the nature of Bayle's Dictionary; the best that speaks of the Ecclesiastical learning of the Jews; the best History of Lives of Philosophers."

In regard to the introductory pages of this "Catalogue," it should be added that many of the titles noted are familiar, as those of books which he was able to find in the Yale Library in 1720 to 1726,

from certain special large additions recently received there through Jeremy Dummer and Governor Yale.

A close study of these pages may help to fix the dates when Edwards became acquainted with various writings which influenced his own; but this is a slow and somewhat laborious task. The mooted question of his anticipation of Berkeley's idealism has this light thrown upon it, that Berkeley's "Principles of Human Knowledge" and "New Theory of Vision," published respectively in 1710 and 1709, are entered on the fifth page of this list, which must mean not earlier than 1730; and it is hardly possible that they were then entered if previously read.

As the entries already quoted show, he is attracted by all current good literature, both in prose and poetry. We find here, for example, Pope's Homer and Miscellaneous Works, Prior's Poems, Quarles's Emblems, The Spectator, Addison's Works, Young's Night Thoughts, Fénelon's Telemachus, Richardson's Clarissa and Pamela, and Fielding's Amelia. The closing entries on the list, as if to show that he was not merely a theologian, relate to an Abridgment of Johnson's Dictionary, and a new work on the Elements of Geometry.

I pause here in this rapid review of the calendar of the Edwards manuscripts, with the obvious remark that they supply the material for a new and more detailed study of the successive phases of his mental development.

It should also be added that, besides this collection and the manuscripts which I have referred to as formerly belonging to the Rev. Dr. Dwight, no other considerable collection exists. At Princeton, where the fame of Edwards is reverently cherished, a portion of his library has been acquired; but, apart from this, the only specimen of his handwriting there preserved is the letter of dismission for his daughter, Mrs. Burr, from the church in Stockbridge; and the single letters and other documents which are scattered elsewhere are valued in proportion to their rarity.

YALE COLLEGE IN SAYBROOK.

[From the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, volume VII. Read at a commemoration in Saybrook, November 11, 1901, and again in New Haven in January, 1902.]

We are met to commemorate the establishment in Saybrook, on the 11th of November, 1701, of the Collegiate School of Connecticut, which the intervening centuries have transformed into Yale University. And if the change is great in the University, how greatly also is Saybrook changed with these two hundred years! The statement is commonplace, but I emphasize it, since it happened that the summons to this commemoration found me in one of those charming cathedral cities of Southern England, in the precincts of which "a thousand years are but as yesterday when it is past," while the lapse of these latest centuries has left hardly a perceptible trace.

With us how far different! and as we pause to recall a passage in the older history of Saybrook, we have almost no help from existing monuments or local traditions in reconstructing the picture of those years. It is beyond my powers to describe the Saybrook of 1701 or to repeople the streets of the Point with the life which centered there in that generation. I can only rehearse a twice-told tale of the events which brought the College to Saybrook, and the vicissitudes which marked its passage to a more permanent home.

The beginnings of New England included also the beginnings of the higher education; and Connecticut has the credit of furnishing nearly sixty names to the list of students in Harvard College before 1701. But the long and hard journey to Cambridge, the expensiveness of the course and the need of economy, the demands of local pride, and the influence—conscious or unconscious—of a plan for a College in New Haven urged sixty years before by the leader of that settlement,—these with other like reasons prevailed at length to bring about in 1701 a combined movement on the part of a few influential men in the Colony, which resulted towards the end of that summer in the informal organization of a Board of clerical Trustees, who agreed at Branford, as the tradition runs, "to give books for the founding of a College."

At that moment the political sky was stormy. Enemies were active at the English court against the colonial governments, and the last advices from London had been that the Connecticut charter

was in immediate danger of forfeiture by Parliament. With this prospect it was a bold act for the General Assembly, with their own chartered authority imperilled, to stretch their power, as they did, by granting to these founders, with their nucleus of books, a charter for a new institution, the real design of which they endeavored to disguise under the title of a "Collegiate School."

This charter left to the Trustees full power to direct and manage the School which they had founded; and it behoves us to ask who were likely to be the leading spirits among them.

The eldest of the group was James Noyes, of Stonington, in his 62d year, and the youngest Joseph Webb, of Fairfield, who was only 35. To Mr. Noyes special deference was given by reason of his age; but the men of most influence in these formative years were Abraham Pierson, of Killingworth, now Clinton, James Pierpont, of New Haven, and Samuel Andrew, of Milford; and of these Pierpont was beyond a question foremost. He was now in his 42d year, of gentle birth and eminent intellectual gifts, while his portrait —the only one that remains of any of the group—shows a strikingly refined and spiritual presence.

The history of Yale College, like that of many another society, has been largely a personal one, dominated that is to say by a succession of individuals in the governing body, who have determined by the strength of their character the channels into which the life of the College has been directed. And the first in this line of controlling forces was James Pierpont, from 1701 to his death in 1714. After him no one at once succeeded to his full influence; but if I read aright the records of the next quarter-century, during most of that time the leading figure among the Trustees was the Rev. John Davenport, of Stamford. After his death, the College came in 1739 under the strong sway of Rector Clap, who recast it in a material sense—like the great Roman Emperor, he found it of wood and left it of brick—and who as the chief among many great services created the office of the Presidency, and thus opened the way for the legitimate primacy of Stiles and Dwight and their successors.

We see, then, in October, 1701, the future of the Collegiate School committed to a Board of ten Connecticut pastors averaging in age a little under fifty years, among whom the next to the youngest, James Pierpont, had been hitherto the prime mover. Seven of them resided along the coast, from Fairfield to Stonington, and three on the banks of the Connecticut, at Middletown, Hartford, and Windsor,—though Samuel Mather, the Windsor minister, was at no time an active member of the Board.

In the three or four weeks which elapsed between the grant of the charter and the first Trustee meeting, the question of a site for the School was of chief interest. The location of the more active Trustees would obviously lead them to favor a place on the coast, and if that place were also easy of access from the river, a workable compromise might be reached. The only bit of remaining evidence of these discussions is a letter from one of the Trustees which argues for New Haven.

An estimate of the number of students likely to come from the various sections of the Colony might have been deduced from the actual numbers of Harvard graduates from these sections down to 1701: in fact, over one-half of these had come from New Haven and Fairfield Counties, and only one-third from Hartford County. With this showing, it was hardly to be expected that Hartford, though the richest and most ancient settlement, could secure the honor of receiving the College; but Saybrook recommended herself, alike with regard to the old local jealousies between the Connecticut and New Haven Colonies and the probable lines of future development. Additional prominence came from her central position as a post-town on all three of the routes between New York and Boston, and from her historic fort, kept in constant efficiency for defence.

One weighty adviser in the early conferences respecting the College has not yet been noticed, the Rev. Thomas Buckingham, now about 55 years of age, who had been for upwards of thirty years the ordained minister of Saybrook. Reared in Milford in the old New Haven Colony, but early left an orphan, he had failed to get to College, and entered promptly on pastoral work. There is evidence that he was one of the inner circle of intimate friends, with Pierpont and Pierson and Andrew and Noyes and Israel Chauncy, who had promoted the College scheme and were now the most active of the Trustees. And so it was not strange that the first meeting under the charter was appointed at his house on Tuesday, the 11th of November, 1701.

What was done at that four-days' meeting is perhaps best told in a letter from Mr. Buckingham to the Governor of Connecticut, Fitz-John Winthrop, son of the founder of Saybrook, as follows:—

SAYBROOK, 15.10^{br}. [= Dec.], 1701.

HONORABLE SIR:

Considering the countenance it hath pleased your honor to afford unto the designe of founding a Collegiate Schoole within this Government, I have thought it no lesse than my duty to informe your honor what proceedings have been made in that affaire since the Court.

Seven of the Trustees mentioned by the honorable assembly had a meeting at this towne 12. No^{br}. last and a very comfortable, unanimous meeting was had, very well agreeing upon the person, who under the name of Rector might preside in and take the charge of s^{d}. school (viz.) the Rev^{rnd}. Mr. Pierson. Wee also had no great difficultie about the place (viz.) Say-Brook (in case no considerations come in to alter our thoughts), that appearing to be the place for the best accommodation of the Colonie in generall, and adjacent places; whereupon M^{r}. Nathaniel Lynde by subscription engaged a legall deed of his house in the Town plot with eight or ten acres of land adjacent, and three or four other persons subscribed to the value of fifty pounds in money, provided the s^{d}. Schoole bee at Say-Brook.

A letter from the Trustees was left with mee to the people at Killingworth, and I have been there and offered it to them. I the last weeke received their answer, the summe of which is that they do not see it their duty to consent unto the parting with M^{r}. Pierson. I doubt if they should persist in that answer it might bee an occasion to worke some hindrance to and possibly some confusion about that so good and greate a worke: yet our God whom we desire to serve is able to make darkness to bee light before us and unto him wee desire to looke.

The reference to the Governor's interest in the enterprise is confirmed by another letter of Mr. Buckingham's, written ten weeks later to the Governor's pastor, Gurdon Saltonstall, on hearing of Governor Winthrop's dangerous illness, as follows:—

"In a letter from the westward [was it from Mr. Pierpont?], I find these sayings which I thinke best to transcribe to yo^{r}.selfe verbatim.

"After hearty Condolence to y^{e}. Governors sorrows, and prayers y^{t}. he may bee spared in y^{s}. o^{r}. criticall hour; however y^{t}. he and wee may be prepared for the divine good pleasure. These may serve to suggest whether it would not be best to jogge M^{r}. Noyes and Saltonstall to propose to the Governo^{r}. that hee would testifie his regard to the Collegiate Schoole. Hee has under God given it breath, and a tender beginning, his benevolence would doubtlesse no^{r}ishe it to farther strength, bee an honorable good worke, and doubtlesse acceptable unto God. Its pity hee should forget it, or it loose his kindnesse, for want of a word."

The seed thus sown produced its fruit, in Winthrop's will, dated seventeen days later, which bequeathed £100 to the Collegiate School, "provided the s^{d} School be setled and upheld and while it shall be so upheld, in the town of Saybrook." But the testator recovered from this illness, and not dying until 1707, by that time a distrust of the School's continuance in Saybrook seems to have operated to prevent the payment of the bequest.

To return to the meeting of November, 1701. The matters of most interest are, the selection of a Rector, the location of the School at Saybrook, and the timely gift for its use of a house, so long as the School should remain there. The exact language of the vote

for location was:—"Upon mature consideration, that so all parts of Connecticut and neighbours adjacent may be best accommodated, we agree & conclude y^t^ unless further considerations than those now before us do offer themselves, we purpose to erect and form a Collegiate School in the Town of Saybrook."

The reference to neighbours who may be accommodated, concerned mainly, I suppose, Long Island and the Massachusetts towns in the Connecticut valley though possibly Rhode Island may also have been thought of.

The house in Saybrook which was offered to the Trustees was on the spot on Saybrook Point now marked by a granite boulder for lasting remembrance; and the donor, Mr. Nathaniel Lynde, was a wealthy and liberal resident, who was also at this meeting elected the first Treasurer of the School, though it is uncertain whether he actually entered on that service.

The Rector put in charge of the expected students was the minister of Killingworth, the next town to the west. It is known that this choice of Mr. Pierson was in the minds of the leaders from the first, and this was another argument for deciding on Saybrook—the only site in view which could have ensured the retention of the rectorship by the one man who was wanted for the post.

We have, then, the Collegiate School erected in Saybrook in November, 1701; but before pursuing the story of its fortunes, let us ask what sort of a world it was in which the new-born College found a place.

The charter of organization was granted by the Governor and Company of His Majesty's Colony of Connecticut—His Majesty being King William the Third, now in the closing months of his reign. To realize the distance of that time from ours, one need only glance at the sole English newspaper which was issued during that meeting at Saybrook, the semi-weekly *London Gazette*. America is not so much as named in the number for November 13, which is chiefly concerned with the Proclamation dissolving one Parliament and calling another and the stream of loyal addresses on occasion of the French King's ungracious backing of the Pretender's title to the claims of James II, who had just died in exile.

In English arms and statesmanship it was the age of the great Duke of Marlborough; in letters, the age of Defoe and Swift, of Steele and Addison, of Bentley and Evelyn, of Congreve and Cibber; in science, of Newton; in philosophy, of Locke; in religion, of Burnet and South; but these great names were practically as far away from the life and experience of the Connecticut Colony in her scattered and obscure villages, as they are from the life and

experience of to-day. Though the colonial government was in theory dependent on the English crown, in fact the people enjoyed high privileges, notably that of electing their own Governor and inferior officers; but these blessings were held with constant risk of loss, more by reason of rash legislation in the sister Province of Massachusetts Bay than from Connecticut's own imprudence. Happily the present danger was averted, and the undisturbed confidence of the community justified by the event.

Of the details of life and activity in Saybrook, I have no right to speak: it is enough that the same simple surroundings, there as elsewhere in the Colony, developed a sturdy, self-reliant stock, not easily overawed by dignities.

The erection of the College at Saybrook was as yet, however, merely nominal. The Trustees held their second meeting at New Haven in April, 1702, when Mr. Pierson, who had already one or two students, announced his readiness to accept the rectorship, but declined to promise a removal to Saybrook. It was voted at the same meeting that the School should not be permanently settled further eastwards than Saybrook nor further westwards than New Haven; and a commentary on this vote is found in a letter written soon after by Mr. Buckingham to Major James Fitch of Plainfield, who had offered to the Trustees a tract of land described in the accompanying deed as a gift to "the Collegiate School in Saybrook." His interest in the School was increased perhaps by the fact that he was himself a Saybrook boy, the child of the first Saybrook minister; but Mr. Buckingham wishes to request that the deed may run instead "to the Collegiate School in Connecticut," adding, "A strong designe hath risen up to carry it farther westward: it is not yet fixed: whether the continuing it in an hovering posture be to advantage, time will discover."

Five months later, on September 16, 1702, at Mr. Buckingham's house, which faced the College house, the Green lying between them, the first Commencement was celebrated privately, when one candidate, who had finished his studies with the Rector, was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts, and four Harvard Bachelors were also advanced to the grade of Master. In contrast with modern standards the bill of £3. 4, which the Treasurer paid for the expenses of the occasion, seems modest enough.

The second College year began with this date, and during its course some eight students were under the care of the Rector, aided by a Tutor,—the Senior Class of one being John Hart, of Farmington, afterwards pastor in East Guilford, and the father of a more distinguished Saybrook pastor, whose descendants are with

us to this day. For the next three or four years the School continued on the same plan,—the students being taught in Killingworth, and Commencements held at the meeting house on Saybrook Point. Very likely the Trustees could not afford to pay what was needed to compensate Killingworth for the loss of a pastor, and so they allowed the existing arrangement to go on; but it pleased no one, least of all the Rector's parishioners, who were just threatening final measures to rid their village of the School, when the Rector died suddenly, in March, 1707.

As soon as possible a *pro-tempore* Rector was named—the Rev. Samuel Andrew, of Milford—and the Senior Class of that year migrated to his house, while the rest of the scholars settled in Saybrook under a Tutor. Soon after that the whole School was brought together in Saybrook and a second Tutor employed, while Mr. Andrew served thenceforth merely as a referee in difficult cases and as presiding officer at the Commencements. And in recognition of this step, which marks the full establishment of the School in Saybrook, Mr. Lynde at length, in 1708, executed the deed of the house which he had offered seven years before to the Trustees who now for the first time took formal possession of the premises.

Henceforth the students increased in number—up to or just over twenty-five,—and the graduating class twice swelled to a total of nine, the average being less than half that figure, and the age of graduation just beyond nineteen years.

Of the sixty young men who received degrees at Saybrook, nearly one-half filled Connecticut pastorates. The most eminent of the group in their after careers were Jared Eliot, Rector Pierson's successor in the Killingworth pulpit, unrivaled amongst his generation as an investigator in physical science, Jonathan Dickinson, first President of Princeton College, and Samuel Johnson, first President of Columbia College and the father of Connecticut episcopacy.

If we ask what the classes at Saybrook studied, a general answer only can be furnished. On admission they were examined in Greek and Latin grammar, in the translation of easy passages in both tongues, and in Latin Composition. The first two years of the course were given mainly to the three learned languages, the Scriptures being the text-book for Hebrew and Greek, and a stiff course in Logic being added in Sophomore year, which was taught either by oral dictation or by a Latin text-book. The third or Junior year was devoted mainly to Physics, which was studied from a manuscript Latin treatise by Rector Pierson; while the Seniors were engrossed with Metaphysics and Mathematics. Besides these subjects, Rhetoric and Theology were assigned to fixed hours weekly

through the whole four years. Proficiency in colloquial Latin was thought to be secured by requiring all the undergraduates to use that tongue in their intercourse with one another, outside the class-rooms.

The day began with public prayers at six o'clock—or at sunrise when that was after six,—and the rest of the forenoon, except the half-hour for breakfast, was given to study and recitations. After the noon dinner came an hour and a half for recreation. The day's work ended at evening prayers, except for any who chose to study between nine o'clock, when all must be in their own rooms, and eleven, when lights must be out.

Regularity in College duties and respect for the rights of the outside community were secured by a system of penalties, in which pecuniary fines held a large place. And there were some compensating privileges, as in 1703, at the beginning of a tedious French and Indian war, when the General Assembly passed a special Act exempting students from military service.

In the later part of the life of the School at Saybrook, important changes occurred in the Board of Trustees. By 1714 one-half the original body, including such conspicuous members as Chauncy, Buckingham, Pierson, and Pierpont, had died; and their places had been filled with successors whose choice was natural from their prominence in the Colony, but whose local affiliations strengthened on the whole the dormant claims of New Haven to the final possession of the School.

In 1714 one notable event happened: the Trustees received from England over 700 volumes at once, to be added to their slender library, and the immediate result of such riches was an absolute necessity for a larger building. The Assembly was approached for aid, and £500 was at length granted, to be paid from the sale of lands transferred from Massachusetts to Connecticut in compensation for encroachments on her boundary.

In April, 1716, when this payment became due, the question of remaining at Saybrook came up in a new form. A crisis had arrived. The School had a non-resident Rector, two Tutors, who happened to be young, inexperienced, and unpopular, and about twenty-five scholars, some of whom were unable to find lodgings within a reasonable distance. Perhaps the choice of Saybrook had not fully justified itself by the measure of prosperity attained in the past fifteen years. For instance, three students only had come in all these years from Western Massachusetts, four from Long Island, and none from Rhode Island—not a hopeful response to the argument advanced when Saybrook was chosen, that so adjacent

neighbors might be best accommodated. And the Trustees were divided among themselves. Some of those desirous of removal had so far fomented the dissatisfaction with the tutors, that the Board were compelled at this meeting to sanction a general dispersal of the scholars into small groups, studying for their degrees wherever they could find fit teachers.

In May, two influential Trustees who lived in Hartford took the extraordinary step of joining with other gentlemen in asking a hearing from the Assembly in behalf of a removal of the School to that town. This attempt to ignore the chartered rights of the Trustees was happily unsuccessful, the chief result being to arouse a more violent opposition to the movers.

A graduating class of three met for the annual Commencement at Saybrook in September, 1716, the last College function to be held there. At a Trustee meeting in New Haven the next month, the decisive vote to remove to that town was carried, the "hovering posture" which Mr. Buckingham had deprecated fourteen years before was at an end, and Saybrook knew its student population no longer.

Much ingenuity has been wasted in the manufacture of reasons of New Haven's securing the College, but the problem is really a simple one. The deciding factors were the Trustees and the various towns which invited the College. But the affiliations of the majority of the Trustees were now naturally with the coast towns to the westwards; and while other offers of land and money were made, the most generous offer of all was from the citizens of New Haven.

In the grand list of taxable estates for 1716, New Haven stood at the head of the roll. She had just secured a new parish minister, Joseph Noyes, of Stonington, and by this means the valuable support of his father and uncle, the two senior Trustees, had been more or less openly diverted to her side. The Governor and the Lieutenant Governor were also commonly identified with the New Haven party,—Governor Saltonstall through his landed interests on the shores of Lake Saltonstall, and Lieutenant Governor Treat through his lifelong residence in Milford. It should, however, be said that the Governor, in a letter still extant, emphasizes strongly his careful abstention from any attempt to influence the Trustees.

The Hartford members of the Board made a long and gallant fight against the majority, but in vain. Charges of bad faith towards Saybrook were easily brought, but in view of the temporary nature of the first settlement there, they failed of support. As far as patronage went the vicinity of Hartford and the western coast had respectively sent about the same number of students during the

Saybrook period; but at the time of this discussion, of the living Saybrook graduates nearly twice as many were resident in the New Haven region as in the neighborhood of Hartford, and this result exerted its natural influence.

Mr. Mather, Mr. Buckingham's young successor in the Saybrook ministry, was not his equal in reputation or in influence, and was never made a Trustee of the College. The bond of connection between the graduates and Saybrook was too slender to induce any active demonstration on their part; their loyalty was apparently transferred to New Haven without a murmur.

I have endeavored thus to tell without reserve or embellishment the plain story of the Collegiate School which found at Saybrook a friendly shelter in the days of its feebleness. It was a period in our annals not marked by specially picturesque incidents and not dominated by specially heroic or striking figures. A "manifest destiny," against which institutions no more than nations or individuals can struggle, carried the School away; but the memorial stone now erected on Saybrook Point will mark for posterity the spot where a great University was nurtured, where the stream of its influence, which has in the progress of the centuries embraced the whole earth, began its course.

We gladly pay a tribute of honor to the fair town of our origin; while we have also to confess that Saybrook knew us only in an undeveloped, experimental stage. Our story is not unlike that of Kipling's "Ship that found herself." Our pre-natal history goes back to the plan of a College which was part of the civil order devised by that sagacious leader, John Davenport, of New Haven. But while the region comprehended under the original Colony of Connecticut had two centres—one in and about Hartford, and one in Saybrook—in neither of these was the College idea a component part as it was in the New Haven Jurisdiction. And so it came to pass that, although the College was launched in Saybrook, and there began her trial voyage, it was only after a doubtful period of stress and storm that she settled compactly and steadily to her work in the world; after half a generation of halting and hovering posture she "found herself," and thereby in consistency with the traditions of her origin brought the fame and glory of her ripened career to New Haven instead of to Saybrook.

ABRAHAM BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT, AND HIS WRITINGS.

[From the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, March 1905.]

Abraham Bishop died in 1844,—not recently enough to be held in general remembrance, and not so long since as to have become, if he ever will, a really historic character. In these circumstances I have not endeavored to gather any personal reminiscences, and shall confine myself mainly to tracing his story by means of what he put in print about himself.

He was the eldest son of Deacon Samuel Bishop, a respected citizen of New Haven, who was much employed in public office, as Deputy in the General Assembly, Town Clerk, Mayor and Judge of the County and Probate courts. The son was so precocious as to begin his college course in Yale at the age of eleven years and nine months, in the class of 1778, the most brilliant class of that generation, with such comrades as Joel Barlow, Noah Webster, Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Zephaniah Swift, and Uriah Tracy.

Graduating at fifteen and a half, he could afford to proceed leisurely, and did not take his examination for the bar until April, 1785, at the age of twenty-two.

Early in 1787 he started on an extended European tour, then a rare experience for a New Haven youth, from which he returned twenty months later, as President Stiles wrote in his Diary, "full of Improvement and Vanity." This tour, mainly performed on foot, is best remembered by allusions to it in "The Echo," a collection of poetical squibs by the Hartford wits, which ridicules his alleged gift of the shoes which had carried him over his journey, to the Museum of Yale College, and describes their subsequent fate, in being tossed out of window by an unappreciative tutor. What basis of truth there was in the tale, I do not attempt to decide.

One thing more should be said of this foreign trip, that the time spent in France seems to have left a permanent mark on Mr. Bishop's character, in the unsettlement of his inherited religious views and the development of a passion for democracy.

We learn from Dr. Stiles's Diary that the traveller launched out at once on his return as a public orator, on a stage of his own providing. He writes, for example, on December 25, 1788: "Mr.

Bishop began his Lecture on Moral Philosophy in his Theatre or Play House,"—that being a house just built by his father, who had been persuaded to alter it to suit the son's purpose. And again, three weeks later: "In the Evening I attended Mr. Bishop's political Lecture against the new Constitution, as I did Mr. [William] Hillhouse's Defence of the Constitution last Monday." It was certainly in keeping with his later career, that the first report of him as a political speaker should be in the character of an opponent of what we know as the *Federal* Constitution.

In the following year another characteristic performance was his posing as an innovator in educational theory. He had evolved an elaborate plan for a graded school system, embracing the public and private schools of the city, and the Hopkins Grammar School, an old endowed foundation preparatory to college, as well. His plan was straightway approved and adopted by a large representative meeting of citizens, and he was himself named Director of the associated institutions, and head of the Academy into which the Grammar School was to be transformed; but beyond a public oration by the Director, and five or six explanatory articles in the newspapers from the same hand, the scheme seems to have had no results, and soon drops out of sight. With its collapse his employment in the Grammar School also ended, and we next hear of him in Boston, where he spent most of the year 1791. Of his occupations while here I can only say certainly that he was a frequent contributor to some of the local papers on political and philosophical subjects; probably also he gave, or at least offered to give, instruction in oratory and other branches.

And here, in October, 1791, his first known pamphlet was printed by Isaiah Thomas. This was: "The Triumph of Truth.—History and Visions of Clio. By John Paul Martin, A. M., M. S. P." The origin and meaning of this pseudonym are not clear; but I note that several articles contributed by our author in the same year to the "Boston Argus" are signed with the same name or with its initials. The piece is a sort of rhapsody, professedly in support of Christianity, and pretending to describe the spiritual progress of a friend named Clio. A prefatory note states that parts of it "will be delivered by the author, as an exercise of sacred Oratory," with intervals for the introduction of music; and suitable hymns by Watts are noted in the text. I cannot make out whether the whole thing was a hidden attempt at burlesque or a pious affectation.

Another result of his Boston residence was his marriage in Newburyport, in March, 1792, at the age of twenty-nine, by the Rev. Dr. Bass, to Nancy, only daughter of the very rich and very eccen-

tric "Lord" Timothy Dexter, a young school-girl in her sixteenth year.

Then his wanderings ended, and he returned to New Haven, to make his home in the old family residence on the corner of Elm and State streets for the rest of his life.

He had no legal practice of any moment, but held for a time the appointment of County Surveyor, and in 1795 became clerk of the County Court, as also of the Probate Court in the following year. To these offices he added, when the Superior Court of New Haven County was established, in 1798, the clerkship of that court also; but lost these employments after two or three years.

At his father's death, in 1803, he succeeded him as Collector of the Port of New Haven, and this office he retained until President Jackson's accession in 1829. In the preceding campaign he had opposed Jackson, having by this time adopted protectionist views, and accordingly he failed to secure a reappointment. He was then sixty-six years of age, a dozen years younger than his father had been when selected for the same post; but he accepted his fate, and spent the remaining fifteen years of his life in retirement.

His marriage was unhappy, and after the birth of a daughter he secured a divorce from his wife, who returned to Newburyport. She outlived her husband, an object of constant care from mental and physical infirmity. He was subsequently twice married, and at his death, in April, 1844, was survived by three daughters and by his third wife, who did not die until 1863.

Of his active interests, outside of his official engagements, during the first years after his final return to New Haven, I find no trace except in a pamphlet, in two parts, which he printed at Hartford, in 1797-98, with the title "Georgia Speculation Unveiled." He was probably one of the many Northern victims of the speculative land companies to which a corrupt Georgia Legislature had pretended to sell its fictitious rights to the Indian land on its western borders; and this essay discusses, with considerable parade of legal technicalities, the objectionable features of what was really a fraudulent transaction.

Mr. Bishop's ability as a ready writer and speaker was now recognized, and this led naturally enough to his appointment in 1800 as orator of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in the college at their annual public meeting, which was regularly held in the Centre Church on the evening before Commencement.

In that year and the years just after, party spirit in New Haven ran as high as it has ever run in her history; and not only was Abraham Bishop any man's equal in ardent partisanship, but to him

belongs the distinction of outstripping all his contemporaries through the help of this occasion and his mode of using it.

He was of course an Anti-Federalist or Republican; and here, if he dared seize it, was a chance of capturing a crowded audience, mainly of the opposite political faith. To be sure it was unprecedented to treat of practical politics on these occasions; but he went ahead, and printed in advance his oration "On the Extent and Power of Political Delusion," which was neither more nor less than a campaign speech. He sent a copy, on the day but one before the date of the meeting, to the committee of the Society, and there was just time for them to insert in the newspaper of the following day an indignant repudiation of the orator and all his works by the canceling of his appointment. But he was not caught napping, and the same paper contained a notice from Mr. Bishop that his oration would be independently delivered, in the meeting-house of the White Haven Society (in which his father was a deacon), and that it would be on sale immediately.

The extraordinary oration, thus effectively advertised, is in a totally different vein from the author's previous pamphlets. The style is characterized by great apparent frankness, verging on impudence, by great facility in the use of Scripture phrases, and by the strongest partisan flavor. The main thesis, as announced in the preface, is that a monarchy is impending in this country, with some official like Hamilton at its head; and the points of special reprobation are the relations of the government to banking, trade, and military and naval expansion. Perhaps, in view of the author's later career as commercial agent of the government at the port of New Haven for over a quarter of a century, as striking a point as any is his fixed opposition at this time to all extension or fostering of commerce. I may not stop to analyze the argument, but I quote the opening and closing paragraphs as samples of the style. The orator begins:

"On the eve of a day set apart for a literary feast of fat things, I have adjudged that a plain dish would be most acceptable. Indeed, had it been assigned to me to speak to you of Greece and Rome, of the inexhaustible treasures of Hebrew, Greek and Arabic, or to have discussed the height and diameter of the antediluvians, or to have explained the cause why a black man is not a white man, or why an elm tree does not bear apricots; you must have sat here in silence, and the spirit would never have moved me to address you. Avoiding literary discussion, I have selected as the theme of this occasion, the extent and power of political delusion."

And he closes thus:—

"If in any of you present, delusion has wrought its perfect work, if you have bowed the knee to the political Baal, if you are slavishly devoted to the

self-stiled friends of order and good government, then bid an eternal adieu to the freedom which you never merited; prepare your necks for the yoke, hail Issachar as your venerated ancestor, say to delusion, 'thou art our father,' and to funding system, federal city, foreign intercourse, army, navy, 'ye are our brethren and sisters.'"

The flame of indignation at this performance, in a community overwhelmingly Federal, was fanned by two published replies,—one, issued within a week, anonymous in form, but by clear internal evidence the work of Mr. Bishop's classmate, Noah Webster, then living in New Haven, which bore the stinging title, "A Rod for the Fool's Back," and the other also anonymous, published at Hartford a month later.

The strategical boldness of this incident added to Bishop's popularity and prominence in the councils of his party, and led to his appointment as orator at a mammoth Republican festival held in Wallingford, in New Haven County, in March, 1801, to celebrate the election of Jefferson and Burr, who had been inaugurated the week before. The occasion was a notable one, and the orator's contribution was ambitious and telling. It began with a suggested comparison, almost blasphemous to many who would read it, between "the illustrious chief who, once insulted, now presides over the Union," and the Saviour of the world, "who, once insulted, now presides over the universe"; and then proceeded to develop, at great length and with many distinct personal allusions, the proposition "that the character of the self-stiled friends of order and good government, at the beginning of the Christian aera, in the successive ages since, and at the present moment, is precisely the same combination of error, self-love, deceit, hostility to the true interests of man, persecution and cruelty."

The style, and to some extent the arguments, are the same as in the author's New Haven oration, and the local situation in Connecticut is held up to the strongest reprobation. This was in fact almost the opening gun in the long campaign which ended in the adoption of the State Constitution of 1818.

When it was printed, an appendix of half a dozen pages was added, giving a racy account, from the author's point of view, of the Phi Beta Kappa affair in all its details. Raciest perhaps of all its hits was that addressed to Noah Webster, who was fond of giving advice, and is here advised in turn "to persecute to conviction and sentence of death, the man or men who ever told him that he had talents as a writer."

This pamphlet was quite of a sort to recommend Mr. Bishop to the President's approval, and no wonder that the Federalists surmised some connection between the oration published in May, 1801,

and the appointment by Jefferson in June of Deacon Samuel Bishop, then almost an octogenarian, as Collector of the Port It was of course charged that the nomination of the highly respectable father was a blind to cover what was practically a reward for the highly obnoxious son; and it was thoroughly characteristic of Abraham Bishop that he himself presently took a hand in the controversy. After the New Haven remonstrants against the appointment had memorialized the President, and the President had replied to them, the new Collector's son published over his own name, in a short-lived New Haven newspaper called "The Sun of Liberty," a slashing criticism of his opponents, which is even now vastly amusing reading. The opening sentences are as follows:—

"When the islanders of Melita saw the venomous beast fasten upon the hand of Paul, they considered it a gone case with him; but Paul shook the beast from his hand and felt no harm. From this we learn that the Melita salamanders were very harmless, for with all their disposition to destroy they had not the power. I have no intention of comparing myself with Paul, but my direct object will be to show *that a number of the New Haven remonstrants are a miserable set of Salamanders.*"

In 1802 Mr. Bishop appeared as an author in a more pretentious manner by the publication of an octavo volume of 166 pages, entitled "Proofs of a Conspiracy against Christianity, and the Government of the United States; exhibited in several views of the union of Church and State in New-England." The title was of course parodied from that of a foolish book issued five years before by Professor Robison, of Edinburgh, which had been widely read on both sides of the Atlantic, "Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the secret Meetings of Free-masons, Illuminati, etc."

To those who know Connecticut history it is evident that our author's book, dealing with the union of Church and State, was really an argument for a revision of the State Constitution. I quote a few sentences from the Preface, to show the spirit of the whole:—

"Living in the midst of men whom my subject contemplates, it has occurred to me that their steady habits and good professions have brought them sufficient profits, and that our pious ancestors have been bought and sold often enough; therefore that some man, who has paid his proportion for these habits, should take it in charge to put an end to the traffic, and to place the dealers in a way of laying in a new stock of their own manufacture.

"This subject is like a new country; he who first enters into it must encounter some briers and some serpents; but a succession of laborers, working with their axes at the roots, will open a way through the wilderness, and hereafter the solitary place will be glad for them, and the desert will rejoice."

In this, as in his former pieces, but with even a more unrestrained tongue, the author indulges in the frankest and most pungent dissection of, and attacks upon, his contemporaries and neighbors, and in shrewd exposure of the weak points in the Federal armor. He was more in his element as a pamphleteer; but his book remains as a part of the effective warfare of a long campaign.

After this, Mr. Bishop but once more appeared in a printed pamphlet with his own name. This was in 1804, and the performance was another "Oration" professedly in honor of Jefferson and the acquisition of Louisiana, delivered at a Republican festival in Hartford; but the main strength of the orator was given, as before, to a scathing arraignment of the abuses of Connecticut government under the old alliance of Church and State. Here, for the first time, the discovery was announced that Connecticut was without a constitution, and a constitutional convention was, for the first time, prominently advocated. I quote a single paragraph, which suggests the trend of the main argument:—

"Republicans, what our eyes have seen, what our ears have heard, and what we have personally experienced, will be better impressed on our memories than what our fathers have told us. We have lived in a State, which, exhibiting to the world a democratic exterior, has actually practised within itself all the arts of an organized aristocracy, under the management of the old firm of Moses and Aaron."

And to illustrate yet again the author's fondness for an audacious and perverse use of scriptural phrases, the passage may be cited where he represents each one of the annual appointees to minor judicial office at the hands of the Governor's Council as having constantly sounding in his ears like a catechism in the ears of a child, "Remember now thy Creator, lest the evil days come and the years draw nigh, wherein he shall say, I have no pleasure in thee."

I ought also to refer to two other pamphlets in this contest, for which he was responsible, though not bearing his name. One, issued in 1802, without any name of place or printer, was entitled "Church and State, a Political Union, formed by the enemies of both"; and consisted mainly of the documents connected with two famous quarrels of that date,—the first between the Rev. Stanley Griswold, of New Milford, and the Rev. Dan Huntington, of Litchfield, Connecticut, and the second between Colonel Ephraim Kirby, of Litchfield, and the Rev. Joseph Lyman, of Hatfield, Massachusetts. Both were occasioned by accusations of slander, growing out of political rancor, and chiefly interesting in connection with the personal fortunes of the participants.

In 1804 he wrote and published another pamphlet, which purported to be an "Address by Major William Judd," of Farmington, to the people of the State, on his prosecution before the General Assembly for taking part, though an office-holder, in a convention which denied the legal powers of the existing government. The pamphlet remains as a landmark in the struggle which Judd himself did not live to see.

In 1804 Abraham Bishop was forty-one years of age. He was just settled in a lucrative public office, which imposed responsibility and dignity beyond ordinary private station; and with this year his activity in the rôle of public censor ceased. He still made himself felt through anonymous writing in the newspapers; but his appearances in pamphlet warfare were practically over.

One specimen of his further authorship is "Some Remarks" published without his name in 1808 in criticism of a letter by the Hon. Timothy Pickering, then a Senator from Massachusetts, which condemned Jefferson's policy of an embargo as likely to lead to war with England. The change of tone in this pamphlet as compared with most of Mr. Bishop's other writings, is very marked; and the result is a decorous and loyal defence of the President, without the personal assaults and local allusions which are so characteristic of his earlier essays. It is all very proper, but alas! very dull.

I trace his hand only once more in any separate publication, and this is in an anonymous pamphlet published in 1824, made up of articles contributed to a New Haven newspaper in that year and entitled "Remarks on Dr. Griffin's Requisition for 700,000 Ministers." These form a slashing criticism of a speech at a meeting of the American Education Society in New York by the Rev. Dr. Edward D. Griffin, then President of Williams College, in which he made a somewhat rhetorical plea for the evangelization of the world. In this Mr. Bishop finds an excuse for a caustic attack on the policy of foreign missions and kindred enterprises. He pretends to find in the advocacy of the spread of missions, of Bible distribution, and of ministerial education, renewed dangers to civil and religious liberty. Probably I have not covered the entire list of his independent publications; an author with a *penchant* for the anonymous has doubtless covered his tracks too cleverly for the first investigator to follow him.

Of the few briefer contributions to the writings of others which I have found, I mention one only, as illustrating another phase of his interests. In 1821 the monuments on the New Haven Public Green were removed to the new Grove Street Cemtery, and Mr. Bishop was prominent in carrying out the removal. In this connection a public religious service was held, at which a "Funeral Address" was

read, which had been composed by Mr. Bishop; this was constructed on the sermon plan (with text and Scripture citations), making a rhetorical exercise in striking contrast with his usual political utterances.

In the preparation of these hasty notes I have glanced over nearly eight hundred pages of Abraham Bishop's published compositions, and they leave with me the clear impression of strong native ability, combined with quick mother-wit, and a keen perception of the ludicrous. Convinced of the justice of his own contention, he gave his adversaries hard blows, delivered fairly and squarely.

In a time of intense party feeling, no doubt there were intrigues on both sides, and I am far from claiming that his skirts were clear of blame; but although in his writings there is abundance of vanity, of perverse logic, and of bad rhetoric, there is also a certain buoyancy and openness, an absolute fearlessness and apparent confidence in his cause, which compel one's sympathy if not one's admiration. In his palmy fighting days one can see that he relished the combat heartily, and he carries his reader with him to the finish, whether he makes him a convert or not. We stay to see the end of the fun, and there lingers with us a kindly feeling for the sturdy champion who has kept us so well entertained in a plucky fight against tremendous odds. And when the full history of Connecticut politics in the beginning of the nineteenth century comes to be written, there will be no more interesting or diverting chapter than that which treats of Abraham Bishop.

STUDENT LIFE AT YALE IN THE EARLY DAYS OF CONNECTICUT HALL.

[From Vol. VII of the New Haven Colony Historical Society Papers. Read January 1907.]

To begin with an evident truism, student life in 1750 was in essentials very closely akin to student life in 1907. Undoubtedly there was more coarseness and less luxury, more formal relations with the governing body and less mental improvement, perhaps more experience in grace and certainly less experience in the world,—but this is only saying in another way that the college shared the general character of its century, and was not, as we should not expect it to be, ahead of the times.

And how different from our standard the times were!

A record is still extant of a part of the faculty judgments of these early days; and the opening entry, in 1751, affords us a homely picture of the average student coming up to college at the opening of the year, which may be worth quoting as an introduction to his story:

"Whereas Holmes (who was a great uncle of Oliver Wendell Holmes) on 10th of November last, being the Sabbath or Lord's day traveled unnecessarily, and that with a burden or pack behind him, from beyond Wallingford to this place: which is contrary to the divine and civil law, as well as to the laws of this college.

"It is therefore considered by the president, with the advice of the tutors, that the said Holmes shall be fined 20 pence sterling."

But the fine was remitted a week later, on his making public confession of his so-called "crime" in the hall.

Arrived at college, his day's work may be described in the words of a diary which is already in print, written by a distinguished graduate of the class of 1763, when a junior, who says:

"The method in which I divide my time is as follows nearly: Go to bed at 9 o'clock; rise about perhaps (5½); (the figures are uncertain); prayers and recitation, which last to about 7½; go to breakfast, and, if the weather is good, commonly take a small walk. This carries it to 8 or 8¼. Commonly from this time till 11 pursue my studies, unless something special; then attend recitation, which lasts to 12; then go to dinner; after, walk or follow some other exercise till (3?); then pursue my studies again till near 6, when I attend on prayers; after prayers go to supper, and spend the remainder of the evening commonly in conversation."

Not a very strenuous life, as compared with a diary of the present.

I recur to the pages of the Faculty Judgments for illustration of the changed times in another respect.

When we recall, as a matter of course, among the expenses of building Connecticut Hall, an item of 67 pounds worth of strong drink, we may better understand how a typical instance of the cases of disorder then current was such an one as the following:

In the restoration of Connecticut Hall after the use and abuse of forty generations of students, the indefatigable committee have been content with restoring the portion above ground; but in the original plan the cellar also played an important part. This was carefully divided into bins, corresponding to the rooms above, subject to separate rental, and intended for the storage of perishable supplies brought painfully from home on horseback or despatched during term-time by friendly carriers. In the case now referred to,[274] the disorder consisted in breaking open the bin allotted to an unpopular tutor, stealing sundry bottles of wine (valued at six shillings sixpence), and letting out half a barrel of cider (valued at four shillings), "which damnified the cellar," says the careful record, "to the value of two shillings." Four luckless youths, of whom one (Theodore Sedgwick) was afterwards a United States senator and justice of the supreme court of Massachusetts, were fined from ten to twelve shillings apiece,—at least triple the amount of actual damage—for the escapade.

And this example leads me to say that, of course, the overfree use of liquor was frowned upon by the government; but unquestionably a good deal of drinking went on without notice or protest. It seems as though it was only in consequence of excesses like that described by the records as "a general treat or compotation of wine, both common and spiced—at which the greater part of the sophomore class was present," that the faculty endeavored to check the abuse by a liberal distribution of their most usual penalty, pecuniary fines, ranging in case of the treat just noticed from two to five shillings.

That the devil of strong drink was not thus, however, totally exorcised, may appear from this subsequent record, where a student, "without any permit, sent a freshman to bring in a quart of rhum into college, and on the next Lord's day when he came into the chappel at the public worship, brought in part of the said rhum in a bottle or phial, and gave it to some scholars, who then and there drank of it."

The mention of sending a freshman on an errand without permit suggests two phases of the college life which also deserve notice.

[274] Kingsley's Yale College, I, 445.

The sending outside for liquor was in violation of the arrangements which provided a college buttery in the south front corner room on the ground floor of Connecticut Hall. In that office centered a very essential part of the social life of college for more than a century; the butler, who was a recent graduate, kept for sale among other things a supply of what perhaps that age regarded as "soft drinks," cider, metheglin and beer, and doled them out in small portions on easy terms of credit; it was the "Yale Coöperative Store" and something more of its generation, and a focus of gossip and good fellowship. By thus licensing a traffic in the milder drinks, it was hoped to remove the temptation for ordering stronger liquors, which by other laws were prohibited.

Again, we are reminded in this account of that other ancient custom which was handed down from the earliest generations, and lasted until the dawn of the modern era under the elder Dwight—namely, the subordination of the freshmen to the upper classes, and their authorized instruction by the sophomores in their social duties. In the eyes of the faculty this provision was almost the chief cornerstone of good government, as may appear by this quotation from a vote of January 18, 1752:

"Whereas last Tuesday evening, Cary, a freshman, being called before the sophomores, went out of the room in contempt of them, and said these words: 'I swear I will not stay here any longer,' which is contrary to the laws of God and this college. It is therefore considered by the president, with the advice of the tutors, that the said Cary shall be suspended from all the privileges of this college."

He was, however, restored, four days later, on making suitable public confession for his crime in the hall.

The safeguard from abuse of their power by the sophomores lay in their being in turn subject to the seniors, who had the right of investigating the behavior of underclassmen and reproving them for undue harshness. But seniors themselves were by no means immaculate, in matters of dignity and propriety; as appears, to cite a trivial instance, by one of the earliest mentions of the incomplete "New College," as Connecticut Hall was originally called, where some of the seniors who were first allowed as a special privilege to room there, before the whole was ready, were found guilty of breaking open the garret doors and moving their beds into the attractive unfinished expanse.

When Connecticut Hall was in its pristine newness, special rules were framed to ensure that no damage be done to the building, though the ingenuity of depredators could not be entirely foreseen. One of the earliest offenses on record is when half a dozen venture-

some sophomores and freshmen (one of them—Chandler Robbins—in after life a doctor of divinity) cut out their names upon the leads and shingles on the top of the "New College," and were fined from fourpence up to one and six. Another similar but not so unfamiliar an impropriety was the cutting of names upon the doors, or on the solid oak tables which in those days were handed down as a part of the permanent furniture of each room.

The penalties for misconduct which I have thus far cited from the ancient records have been mainly in the form of fines; another effective weapon in the hands of the faculty was the penalty of degradation. Until 1766 the list of each class was arranged at entrance, not alphabetically, but on the basis of supposed social rank; and any grave misdemeanor might be punished in a way that would be keenly felt, by changing the culprit's place in the class list, and ranking him below some of those less fortunate youth whom he had hitherto been privileged to look down upon as his social inferiors. The custom had a long pedigree, and had come to Yale in the most natural manner from Harvard; but I am confident that it had never been congenial to the spirit of the place, and was found by the authorities to be exceedingly difficult in practice. It was, however, of avail as a penalty, and there are instances on record where it was resorted to for what seems such a comparatively trivial offence as going out of town without leave.

The question of the efficiency of the various punishments in vogue was sometimes debated by the faculty, with this curious conclusion in one instance, in March, 1753, where the record runs:

"Whereas the ringing of the bell, contrary to the laws of this college, is a thing of very bad tendency, and is the occasion of great disorder in the college; and a great variety of punishments have been heretofore inflicted upon those who have been guilty of that crime, which have not been sufficient to stop and suppress it. And, whereas, last evening, the bell was rung almost incessantly, for the space of about an hour, partly before and partly after 9 o'clock; and Miner (a freshman) was catched in the act of ringing of it. It is therefore considered and determined by the president with the advice of the tutors, that the said Miner shall have his ears boxed by the president. This punishment was forthwith inflicted."

But it did not stop unlawful bell ringing.

The mention of the college bell, a valued possession dating only from 1742, suggests a notice of the other buildings in existence at the opening of Connecticut Hall. The bell then hung over the middle entry of the original college, henceforth to be known as "the Old College"; that long and high though narrow wooden structure, which had been built in 1718 on a part of the ground now covered by Welch and Osborn halls. This had the honor of having been

the building to which the original name of "Yale College" was attached, an appellation which passed easily from the building to the whole institution, but which always remained in a peculiar sense the designation of this structure. In its palmy days it is described as an especially sightly building, with something of an air of grandeur, which Connecticut Hall never aspired to. It contained, besides bedrooms and studies, a dining hall (used also for daily prayers and after November, 1753, for Sunday services) and a library.

In the dining hall commons were served daily to all the students, except the few who had liberty to board at home or with near relatives; and the fare provided by the steward was a source of perennial complaint. It was the frequent custom for students in want of pocket money to dispose of a portion of their daily commons—as, for instance, of their bread and beer,—and the noise and confusion attending this barter became such a nuisance that the faculty were obliged to adopt (in 1752) an order that no scholar should publicly cry or attempt to sell his commons on the Lord's day, or the evening preceding (which was holy time), or in study hours, on penalty of having them forfeited to the waiters, who were themselves appointed from among the needy undergraduates.

The only other building belonging at this date to the college was the president's house, a wooden Colonial mansion, built in 1722, and standing until 1834 nearly on the site of the present College Street Hall.

The president was the Rev. Thomas Clap, then (in 1752) in his 50th year and just half way through his long term of office. He was a really great man in the breadth and sagacity of his plans for the college, and we have not yet outgrown the impress of his molding hand. Yet in his relations with the students he can hardly be described as successful, and later in his career an element of rebellion and direct personal defiance brought about his melancholy exit. An entry from the Faculty Judgments of January, 1764, which was after a separate chapel, later known as the Athenæum, had been built, gives an example of his trials: "Whereas it appears that on the evening of the Sabbath of the 15th instant White Tertius stood up and profanely mimicked the president at prayers. . . . It is ordered that the said White shall set up gallery some considerable time after the rest who have been ordered to set there with him may have liberty to set below."

The mention of the library in the old college raises the question how much that solid collection of towards 3,000 volumes touched the student life of that day. But in general it must be acknowledged that the books there gathered were beyond the needs of most undergraduates. A stray record is preserved of the loans made by the

president as acting librarian during two or three years just before Connecticut Hall was finished; from which it would appear that the library was mainly made use of by graduate students. Indeed the only exceptions that I notice on these lists are when a senior borrows a volume of Pope's Homer and one of that sound commentator, Matthew Henry's "Exposition of the Old and New Testament," and a junior borrows Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," in three ponderous folios.

The first contribution toward Connecticut Hall had come from a public lottery, and it should not be surprising that lotteries as an amusement came to be so much the rage among the students that they had to be checked by authority. The old records give some particulars of these ventures, in a few of which it is evident from the nature of the prizes that the pleasure of the sport lay rather in the excitement of the struggle than in the reward to be gained. Thus, in 1763, a successful lottery, in which the participants were disciplined, had as prizes Pope's Homer's Iliad, seven volumes of "Voyages," Bayley's Dictionary and two copies of "Virgil," and another still more surprising case of the same date was where five tickets at three and ninepence each were sold for the privilege of drawing Wilson's "Trigonometry," Cicero's "Orations," and "The Complete Letter Writer." One cannot avoid the suspicion that the game was utilized as a convenient means for disposing of somebody's old text-books, while it also gratified the passion for gambling.

The social life of the students also included some privileges now lost, such as ball playing on the public green and some gala occasions of special censure. Here, for instance, is a memorandum from the Faculty Judgments of January, 1756:

"Whereas it appears that a play was acted at the house of William Lyon (a tavern-keeper on State street), on the evenings after the 2d, 6th, 7th and 8th days of January instant, and that all the students (excepting some few) were present at one or other of those times, and many of them continued there until after 9 of the clock, and had a large quantity of wine, and sundry people of the town were also present. And whereas this practice is of a very pernicious nature, tending to corrupt the morals of this seminary of religion and learning, and of mankind in general, and to the mispence of precious time and money." Accordingly, those present were fined eight pence, and the actors, who were all students, the most notable being Silas Deane, the diplomatist of the Revolution, three shillings each.

You may have noticed that a special grievance is here made of the fact that "people of the town were also present"; reminding us that the barriers then existing between town and gown were

vigorously upheld. But collisions now and then occurred in the streets, in regard to which the college authorities took the ground that students should be above such riotous action, and should set a better example. "Town and gown," by the way, was not a mere fashion of speech, as the college law which required all the scholars to wear their gowns and hats, caps or wigs outside of their rooms was supposed to be rigidly insisted on.

I regret to say that we get not infrequent glimpses of a different point of contact between the young gentlemen of Connecticut Hall and their less cultured neighbors; as, for instance, when a party of five sophomores and freshmen in 1764 was found guilty of having stolen eight hens, of the value of one shilling each, out of Widow Brocket's henhouse, and taken them to one of their rooms in Connecticut Hall, and there (after having plucked and cooked them) were found in the act of eating them.

As for the relations of the students with each other in their social and oratorical clubs, there is rather a lack of detail. No doubt such clubs existed in every college generation, but they usually lacked a power of continuance, until finally, just after the first occupation of Connecticut Hall, the Linonian society was started, as was the Brothers in Unity fifteen years later, of which the names remain to our own times. The regular meetings were of course held in the students' own rooms, which prevented strict privacy; but on special occasions, like the anniversaries, recourse was had to a public house, where some sort of dramatic entertainment could be attempted. The ordinary exercises included something in the way of orations and dialogues; and during one period in the early history of the Linonian society a special form of intellectual diversion was current, whereby at each meeting one member, in alphabetical order, should, instead of making a speech, propose a question, to go upon record, with the appropriate answer. The existing minutes preserve a series of these themes and so give a curious insight into the mental operations of college youth of that day. Many, perhaps most, of the questions were prompted by the studies of the curriculum and suggest how limited was the range of interests before the daily newspaper as we know it existed. Here are some specimens: At what time did the Latin language arrive to the greatest perfection in the city of Rome? How is the greatest common measure discovered in algebraick quantities? Why is the weather coldest when the sun is nearest to us? What thing is the most delightful to man in the world? Aeneas and Dido, in what time did they live?

Can we fancy our college friends of this day interested in propounding and answering inquiries of such a sort?

The provision of the college laws that "every student shall in his ordinary discourse speak in the Latin tongue," was in the earlier days, I suppose, observed after a fashion on occasion, but by the time we are concerned with it had come to be a counsel of perfection, which no one pretended to live up to; and in its best estate it can have been only an excuse for the manufacture of incredibly bad Latin.

In general, my conception of the little community of that epoch—varying in size from 90 members to nearly twice that number—represents it as substantially homogeneous, living in the main a separate cloistered life, with few great excitements and little knowledge of the world outside, not excessively studious nor remarkably quiet, but reasonably responsive to the appeals of conscience and appreciative of the gaieties of life. In proportion to their means, they were, I am inclined to think, as lavish in personal expenditure and as ready for combined extravagance as any generation since. There was always a considerable group of candidates for the ministry who had chosen their vocation at a somewhat advanced age, and thus contributed a more settled and sober element; yet even with this makeweight the community abounded in liveliness.

With our different habits we may imagine their life uncouth and barbarous; but we need not waste our pity. To them it was a life of breadth and freedom and stimulus, compared with that in the ordinary New England village of their earlier years; and the college brotherhood, then even more than now, found in itself a zest and a capacity for enjoyment beyond the reach or perhaps the comprehension of maturer years.

EARLY PRIVATE LIBRARIES IN NEW ENGLAND.

[From the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1907.]

Our notions of early New England and its intellectual and social condition are perhaps unduly affected by a conviction of the hardships and discords of frontier life; and it may be worth while to aim at some discovery of the countervailing elements; and, confining myself for the present to one particular, to ask what sort of literary baggage the original settlers brought with them, and what printed books their children and grandchildren fed on. The inquiry might be variously undertaken; but I have preferred, as the most sure, if not the most picturesque way, a scrutiny of some of the more detailed inventories filed in the Probate Courts in connection with the settlement of estates.

In such a day of small things the majority of estates were so slender that it was natural in these to register somewhat minutely the several items; and thus we may be prepared to find in many instances a separate entry of every book included in an estate, with the value at which it was appraised, side by side with the like enumeration of household goods and farm utensils.

In most cases of course the inventory betrays an utter absence of books and book-learning. And equally, of course, where one book only is named, that is invariably in such language as "a Bible," "an old Bible," "a great Bible," or "a small Bible." Occasionally the appraisers are more emphatically descriptive, as in the case of John Smith, a respectable miller of Providence, dying in 1682, where out of an estate of upwards of £90, the only literature made note of is "'An old Bible, some lost and some of it torne," which is assessed at 9d.

It should also be said that it is not uncommon to find two, three, four, five, six, or in one case (John Kirby, of Middletown, Connecticut, 1677) nine Bibles, enumerated as the property of an otherwise bookless testator.

Next in frequency to the Bible, in such unlettered estates, is "A Psalm book," by which I suppose is generally meant in the earliest time Ainsworth's metrical version, first printed at Amsterdam in 1612, which the Pilgrims brought with them, or after 1640 the "Bay Psalm Book," only a shade less barbarous in poetry and rhythm.

But the ordinary run of single volumes, owned by a Puritan householder, apart from his Bible or Psalm-book, was almost inevitably some doctrinal or practical treatise in religion, by a popular author, such as Ainsworth, or Goodwin, or Perkins, or Preston, or Sibbes; but occasionally a Catechism, or more rarely a Concordance.

In our annals the seventeenth-century instances are very infrequent, in which a short list of books contains any sample of a different sort from these. Of such exceptional cases a fair instance is the inventory of Deacon George Clark, of Milford, Connecticut, in 1690, where "Record's Arithmaticke" appears; or that of Deacon George Bartlett, Lieutenant of the train-band of Guilford, who left in 1669 two books of "Marshall Discipline"; or, less remarkably perhaps, that of Dame Anna Palsgrave, of Roxbury, in the same year, a physician's widow, in which besides ordinary medical books is found Pliny's "Natural History," undoubtedly in Philemon Holland's noble translation; or, most outstanding of any case in my knowledge, that of William Harris, one of the strong men of early Rhode Island, compeer and rival of Roger Williams, whose scanty library of about 30 volumes in 1680 contained such unusual treasures as no less than eleven law-books, headed by Coke upon Littleton; "The London Despencettory," besides two other more commonplace medical works; a "Dixonarey"; Richard Norwood's Trigonometry; Gervase Markham's "Gentleman Jocky"; Lambarde's "Perambulation of Kent," the prototype and model of English county histories; Morton's "New England's Memorial," that foundation-stone of Pilgrim history; a treatise on "The Effect of Warr"; with only a faint sprinkling of theology, and that enlivened by such a standard piece of literature as Sir Matthew Hale's "Contemplations, Moral and Divine."

But, most generally, in the ordinary lists of estates, the entry is apt to read, "Some old bookes;" or, with still more inglorious uncertainty as in the case of Mr. John Wakeman, of New Haven, a layman of distinction, who died in 1661, leaving an estate of £300 (equivalent to perhaps six or seven thousand dollars with us,) of which one item is "three shirts and some old Bookes, fifteen shillings;" or in that of Nathaniel Bowman, of Wethersfield, who possessed "Books, bottles and odd things," grouped in value at 12 shillings; or in that of Robert Day, of Hartford, progenitor of a notable line, who died in 1648, leaving in an estate of £143, "one pound in bookes, and sackes, and ladders;" or in that of Joseph Clark, of Windsor, 1655, who died possessed of goods valued at £44, in which one item ran, "For bacon, 1 muskett, and some bookes, £2.12s."

When we come to details, we must remember at the outset that many of the largest libraries are not itemized, but simply entered in bulk; and passing on to some of the larger collections of which we have fuller particulars, I select for analysis ten inventories, of such as are most conveniently at hand. Of these it happens that a bare majority belong to the Old Plymouth Colony,—which is not to be taken as a proof that that short-lived, unprosperous Pilgrim community was especially well supplied with cultivated men, for the exact opposite was the fact; but rather, as already suggested, that poverty of resources led to a more minute enumeration of such goods as they had, and has thus preserved more details than comparative abundance elsewhere deigned to furnish.

Of our ten specimen cases the first from the New Haven Colony is that of one Edward Tench, who died in 1640, a substantial layman, of whose history and occupation nothing distinctive is transmitted. Here, out of an estate of £400, one thirty-second part, £12½, is accredited to books, 53 volumes of which are enumerated; and the contents of the collection are sufficiently typical. There are six Bibles, namely, "1 Geneva Bible, with notes," "1 Bible, Roman letter," and 4 small ones; a Concordance; some 40 volumes of commentaries and practical religion—the writer chiefly represented being Dr. Richard Sibbes, an intimate friend of John Davenport, the testator's pastor; two or three medical books; one law-book, Dalton's "Country Justice;" one book of cookery and household economy; and two standard works in agriculture—Markham's "Husbandry" and Mascall's "Government of Cattle;" but of general literature, ancient or modern, and of the whole domain of science as then understood, absolutely nothing.

The only other collection of books in the New Haven Colony of any importance to be noted in this connection is the library of over 100 volumes belonging to the Rev. Samuel Eaton, colleague pastor of the New Haven Church from 1638 to 1640. This collection, left behind as a gift to New Haven when the owner returned to England, and catalogued while in the town's possession,[275] is a representative working library of an educated theologian, to whom Latin was as familiar as English; but outside of theology and scholastic philosophy, it contains barely a dozen titles. Of these the more notable are a few classical authors, such as Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Virgil, Ovid, and Justin, and two modern Latin classics, More's "Utopia" and the "Proverbs" of Erasmus; in history and geography, Raleigh's "History of the World," Foxe's "Book of

[275] New Haven Colony Hist. Society's Papers, VI, 301-13.

Martyrs," and Peter Heylyn's "Cosmography;" a couple of second-rate medical hand-books; Keckermann's Manuals of Mathematics and of Logic; and a book of Military Discipline. The nearest approach to literature is the Ovid, which was George Sandys's poetical version of the Metamorphoses; and the entire list of inventories entered in the New Haven Probate Court down to 1700 affords nothing to rival this one poetical attempt in the lines of belles-lettres.

In the neighbor Colony of Connecticut I have found few detailed inventories, and so far as I can gather, the records of the original Probate District, that of Hartford, exhibit nothing of literary interest. The only collection of books within the Colony of any extent which is even in part recoverable is that of Governor John Winthrop the younger, traveller, physician, and diplomatist, who died in 1676. About 300 volumes from his library (a fraction only of the whole) were given many years since by a descendant to the New York Society Library, and form an exceptionally interesting collection. Among them are representatives of all the then known sciences, and of almost every department of knowledge; and the lines displaying special strength are distinctly unusual. For instance, nearly one-fourth of the whole is made up of books dealing with the occult sciences, magic, alchemy, astrology, etc. Besides these should be emphasized many rare and notable works in Mathematics, Astronomy, and Medicine, and a valuable collection of helps to the study of numerous languages. There is besides an unusual number of works written in the leading modern tongues—French, German, Dutch, Italian, and Spanish being all well represented. To name a few of the notable authors, there are two of Tycho Brahe's astronomical works, Machiavelli's "Prince," Mercator's Atlas (1610), Napier's work on Logarithms, Pascal's "Provincial Letters," and Ronsard's Hymns.

In Massachusetts Bay a pendant to Samuel Eaton's library is that of John Harvard, who immortalized an undistinguished name by bequeathing his estate to the infant college in Cambridge at his death in 1638. The list as entered on the college records[276] seems to imply about 440 volumes. As might be expected, a considerable majority fall under the regular designation of theology and philosophy,—the next largest division being those in classical and modern Latin literature, about one-tenth of the whole; of these, the principal classical texts in Greek are Aesop, Epictetus, and Isocrates, and in Latin, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Persius, Plautus, Sallust, and Terence. In the domain of history there are hardly a dozen volumes; in medicine

[276] Bibliographical Contributions to Harvard University Library, No. 27.

and law, three or four each. The most outstanding individual works are Chapman's inspired translation of Homer and Holland's Pliny; the Colloquies of Erasmus and the Letters of Roger Ascham, both in the original Latin; Minsheu's "Guide into Tongues," that most wonderful of seventeenth-century dictionaries; Camden's "Remaines concerning Britain;" Bacon's "Advancement of Learning," his Essays, and his Natural History; Feltham's "Resolves," and (to represent English poetry) one volume of Francis Quarles and one of George Wither.

With this bequest of John Harvard one is tempted to compare briefly three other lists of seventeenth-century gifts to the same college, which are extant, namely, forty volumes from Governor Winthrop the elder, about twenty from Governor Bellingham, and nearly forty from the Rev. Peter Bulkley. In the Bellingham list[277] there is nothing outside the usual lines of philosophy and theology, except a copy of Grotius *de jure belli.* Governor Winthrop's[278] gift is, like its donor, distinctly less commonplace, comprising such comparative rarities as a French version of the Bible, a Book of Common Prayer, and a Life of the Virgin Mary. There is one book in the field of modern history—Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglicana,* and among the items on the classical side so useful an acquisition as a Greek lexicon.

The last of the Harvard gifts to be mentioned is that from Peter Bulkley, of Concord, whose inventory at his death in 1659 includes as one item £123 in books. Of these certain are specifically mentioned as bequests in his will; and combining these with his earlier gift to the college we get about 60 titles from a working Massachusetts pastor's library. Of these at least three-fourths fall under the usual class of theology and philosophy, while the remainder are mainly historical. The volumes most worthy of special notice are Father Paul's "History of the Council of Trent," a copy of the *Pontificale Romanum,* Camden's *Descriptio Britanniæ,* and a tract of King James I. against demonology.

For the sake of comparison, it may be worth while to glance also at the inventory of the stock in trade of Michael Perry,[279] a Boston bookseller, who died in 1700. This list foots up apparently about 6000 separate volumes, though of these many are insignificant in size and unimportant in contents. Of the entire number nearly three-fourths would be classed as theology; about 300 volumes belong to classical literature; and about 50 to mathematics. So far

[277] Harvard Library Bibliographical Contributions, No. 27.
[278] Winthrop's Life and Letters, II, 438-39.
[279] Dunton's Letters from N. E. (Prince Society), 314-19.

as I can distinguish there is but a single volume to be credited to belles-lettres—Fairfax's translation of Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered." But there are 34 copies of a popular astrological work, nearly 1500 "Assembly's Catechisms," 3 copies of the Pilgrim's Progress" with cuts, 6 Common Prayer-Books, 170 Bibles or parts of Bibles, and upwards of 300 Psalm Books.

If we turn now to Plymouth Colony we find accessible the inventories of six collections of books, which deserve comparison with those already named,—those of William Bradford, William Brewster, Samuel Lee, Ralph Partridge, Thomas Prince, and Miles Standish.

Taking first the clergymen, Ralph Partridge, of Duxbury, died in 1658, leaving a library of upwards of 420 volumes, which was appraised at £32. 9s.—an average of 18 pence a volume. The titles, however, of only a small number are spread upon the records and these indicate a preponderance of theology, with a special leaning to the Church Fathers and to ecclesiastical history in general, and little else of importance.

A generation later, "the Reverend and learned Mr. Samuel Lee," of Bristol, died in 1691, on a return voyage from America; and the Catalogue of his library, which was exposed for sale in Boston, was printed there by Samuel Green in 1693.[280] About 1300 volumes are recorded, of which fully four-fifths are in Latin. With the usual experience, Divinity, including Ecclesiastical History, absorbs 30 per cent; and the next largest list, that of secular History, is less than half the previous division in extent. Of classical authors, mainly in what seem to be school editions, there is an almost equally large representation; and after these comes another numerous division, comprehending Medicine, Chemistry, and Alchemy—about 125 volumes. There are smaller groups in Mathematics and Astronomy (including Astrology), about 60 in all; about 20 in Geography; and only 8 or 10 in Law,—but among them works of such note as Justinian's Institutes, the *Corpus Juris Civilis,* and Grotius *de jure belli.*

Judged by quality instead of quantity, the somewhat obscure entries indicate a library strongest in divinity and the classical tongues, and including in these lines some unusual treasures, such as the Works of the Venerable Bede, Casaubon's *Epistolae,* Barclay's *Argenis,* and Selden's account of the Arundel Marbles. On the side of natural science the selection was a good one, as may be judged from such specimens as a part of the Royal Society's "Philosophical Transactions," Evelyn's *Sylva,* and Harvey's epoch-making book on the circulation of the blood. In philosophy we find Bacon's "Ad-

[280] Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings, 2d series, X, 540-44.

vancement of Learning;" in history such an uncommon book as Ashmole's account of the Order of the Garter; but in pure literature only a single volume, and that probably not chosen by the owner from its literary interest,—Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici.*

Of the Plymouth laymen whose libraries we have in detail, two were Governors of the Colony—William Bradford and Thomas Prince.

Bradford, also its historian, died in 1657, leaving about 100 volumes,[281] the appraised value of which was £15.3; substantially the same volumes reappear in the inventory of his widow, Mistress Alice Bradford, thirteen years later; and an entry of identical amount appears for the third time in the estate of their son, Major William Bradford, in 1704. About half the books only are entered by title, and of these but half a dozen are outside the usual theological routine. Of those in theology but one is at all unfamiliar, Jeremy Taylor's "Liberty of Prophesying;" while the balance includes one medical treatise, Barrough's "Method of Physic," the most popular of its kind in that generation, judging by the frequency of its recurrence in these lists; a copy of Guicciardini's "History of Italy;" and Jean Bodin's treatise on government, which was far from advocating the principles of the Plymouth Compact. Frequent reminders appear of the owner's sojourn in Holland; as in the inclusion of a "History of the Netherlands," of four separate books of John Robinson's, and three of Henry Ainsworth's, of one at least of the books printed in Leyden by Elder Brewster, and of "Calvine on the epistles, in Duch, with Divers other Duch bookes."

Governor Thomas Prince, who died in 1673, left 187 volumes,[282] valued at £13. 18. 8, out of a total estate of £422; of this number, however, 100 are "Psalme books," worth 18 pence apiece, and 50 "Small paper bookes to be distributed bound up." The remaining volumes are almost all of a theological cast. There are, however, three law books; a copy of the "London Dispensatory;" a Hebrew Grammar; Laud's "Account of his conference with Fisher the Jesuit," and Prynne's "Account of Laud's Trial;" Morton's "New England's Memorial;" and finally a single volume which may without violence be classed as English literature, the "Essays" of Sir William Cornwallis, a feeble seventeenth century imitator of Montaigne.

Next comes the library of Miles Standish, the military leader of the early Colony, who owned a collection[283] of upwards of 50 books

[281] Mayflower Descendant, II, 232-33; III, 146-47; IV, 147.
[282] Mayflower Descendant, II, 208-09.
[283] N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register, V. 337.

at his death in 1656, appraised at £11.13 in a total estate of £358. Of the titles on record, two-thirds are books in theology and kindred subjects, but a few of the others are somewhat notable. Such are Raleigh's "History of the World," and half a dozen other equally solid historical works; Chapman's Homer's Iliad; Cæsar's "Commentaries," undoubtedly in English, with one other military treatise; Gervase Markham's "Country Farmer;" Dodoens' "Herbal;" single law and medical books; and a translated volume of French essays. Standish has been claimed as a concealed Roman Catholic, but the inventory of his books, so far as it affords any argument, is certainly on the Protestant side. It is hard to imagine a Romanist acquiring and retaining such an array of Protestant theology as is here, including some distinctly anti-Catholic works, as Thomas Sparke's "Answer to a Discourse against Heresies," and Calvin's "Institutes."

Last of all we come to the very remarkable private library of Elder William Brewster,[284] who died in 1644, leaving an estate of only £150, of which nearly one-third, about £43, was in books, comprising over 400 volumes, one in every six of which was in the Latin tongue.

When we analyze this extraordinary collection, certainly appraised much below its value, we find that four-fifths come under the head of distinctly religious literature; while the next largest division, perhaps two dozen volumes, is that of history. Perhaps a dozen volumes—an altogether unprecedented experience in these summaries, may be credited to English literature; and the rest are scattered over the entire field of knowledge,—including, for instance, five or six books pertaining to the science of government, two on the art of Surveying, two in Medicine, and one (Dodoens' "Herbal") a masterpiece in Botany. There are Latin and Hebrew Grammars and lexicons; but very few texts or translations of classical authors, Lodge's Seneca being the chief example. Among the more striking single items may be specified Hakluyt's "Voyages," John Smith's "Description of New England," Rich's "Newes from Virginia," Camden's "Britain" (both in Latin and English), Brooke's "Catalogue of the English Nobility," and Machiavelli's "Prince" (in the Latin version).

Among the works to be included under English literature there is none of the first rank, except Lord Bacon's "Advancement of Learning;" for poetry, two volumes of George Wither's must stand at the head; and I fear that there are specimens of no other author whose name is even faintly remembered at the present day, save

[284] Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings, 2d series, V, 38-81.

Richard Brathwait's Description (in verse) of a Good Wife, and Thomas Dekker's account of a magnificent entertainment given to James I. on his reception in London.

In studying these lists one thing perhaps worth notice is the frequent recurrence of certain volumes, which are not now remembered as anywise remarkable, but which seem to have enjoyed a reputation now outgrown. Such a book, for instance, is "The French Academy," a collection of essays translated in 1586 from Pierre de la Primaudaye, a copy of which is found in one after another of the libraries here chronicled. The title is borrowed from Plato's "Academy," and the book is concerned with the study, by way of dialogue, of manners or ethics. It is now hard to see whence this popular work, of which large editions must have been printed, so often does it still appear in second-hand catalogues, derived its charm.

Still more worth notice is the deduction already anticipated, of the absolute dearth in these lists of all that we have learned to regard as the glories of Elizabethan literature. A master in these studies has told us[285] that "before 1700 there was not in Massachusetts, so far as is known, a copy of Shakspeare's or of Milton's poems;" it does not need so sweeping a statement to convince us of the narrow horizon and the limited interests of our forefathers of that generation. We should recognize, however, in partial explanation of this dearth, the inherited prejudice against the drama which made Shakespeare an impossible element in most of the collections we have noted; and the same Puritan temper counted much else in contemporary letters frivolous which later generations have agreed to honor.

Another fact to be remarked is the strange lack of books in some houses where better things might be expected. One such surprise is in the estate of Governor John Haynes, of Hartford, an early Connecticut leader in character and lineage as well as wealth, who left property amounting to upwards of £1400, but whose only literary baggage is included in the entry, "1 greate bible and 1 gilded looking glass, 16 shillings."

It would be only fair to compare with these lists such libraries of the Southern Colonies as come within our knowledge. Such an one is the library left by Colonel Ralph Wormeley, of Middlesex County, at the mouth of the Rappahannock, in Virginia, once a student of Oriel College, Oxford, who died, in 1701. About 400 volumes are mentioned in his inventory,[286] and of these, as in our previous

[285] Mellen Chamberlain, Address at Dedication of Brooks Library, Brattleborough, 1887, 26. But one of Cotton Mather's works, about 1695, gives a quotation of several lines from Milton.

[286] William and Mary College Quarterly, II, 169-74.

instances, theology is still the largest factor; but works in civil history and law form a very considerable part of the whole, and there is what would be a most unusual proportion for New England of books which may be classed as literature. The English drama is represented, among other authors, by the Works of Sir William Davenant, by Beaumont and Fletcher's "Fifty Comedies and Tragedies," and by Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour;" English Poetry by Hudibras and the poems of Herbert, Quarles, and Waller; while among the many exponents of the best English prose are such masterpieces as Lord Bacon's "Essays," Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," Fuller's "Worthies" and "Holy and Profane State," the "Golden Remains" of John Hales, Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," Howell's "Familiar Letters" and Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying." The most striking items in foreign tongues are Montaigne's "Essays" and Don Quixote.

Another library of which we have particulars is one of over 200 volumes brought in 1635 by the Rev. John Goodborne,[287] bound to Virginia, who died upon the voyage. In this case there is nothing to distinguish the Southern minister from his Northern brother. Roughly speaking, two-thirds of the whole are theological, and the rest is mainly given up to editions of classical writers or helps to classical study; but nothing can be detected of a literary flavor, except so far as that is represented in Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," and in versions of Plutarch's Lives or Virgil's Aeneid. Of smaller collections a typical one is that of Captain Arthur Spicer[288] of Richmond County, Virginia, who died in 1699, leaving about 125 books, valued at £10. Of these towards one-half are to be accredited to law,—theology following as a faint second. The only really noticeable items are Lord Bacon's "Advancement of Learning," Sir Thomas Browne's "Religio Medici," and the "Eikon Basilike" attributed to Charles the First.

The materials are too scanty for safe generalization, but so far as any can be suggested they imply, as we might expect, a freer commerce in the Southern Colonies with London bookshops than in our less fertile and less opulent New England, and a more catholic taste, unhampered by austere prejudices.

For New England the fact remains, and can hardly be stated too baldly, that the early settlers and their children lived without the inspiration of literature. It was "plain living and high thinking," and that their lives and their work were worthy of reverence is all the more to their credit.

[287] Amer. Hist. Review, XI, 328-32.
[288] William and Mary College Quarterly, III, 133-34.

THE BENEFACTORS OF YALE COLLEGE.

[Read to "The Club," New Haven, March, 1909.]

I ought to begin with a confession: that my motive in preparing this slight paper was more or less a selfish one, inasmuch as I wanted to get certain statistics before my own mind in their proper order and relations, and as we all know, the simplest way in such a case to clearness of apprehension is to marshal one's facts on paper.

We have high authority for stating that "there is no new thing under the sun"; and I should acknowledge at once that the title I have chosen is not—strictly speaking—original, though borrowed from a forgotten source. So long ago as 1733 a New Haven physician, who was also addicted to letters, Colonel and Dr. John Hubbard, afterwards the father-in-law of President Stiles, printed anonymously in Boston a brief "Poetical Attempt," as he deprecatingly styled it, under the title of "The Benefactors of Yale College." Of the literary merits of this effort, little need be said: indeed, little could be. It may suffice to quote a few of the introductory lines:—

> "Connecticut, be thou the destin'd theme,
> Minerva deigns a visit to thy stream;
> In thy *Neolimen,* till now unknown
> In verse, the Muses humble seat is shown."

In a foot-note the writer adds: "I think every Reader will readily own that *Neolimen* sounds better even to an English ear than *New Haven,* which I hope will justify the Use of it in this Place."

It falls to me, then, after the passage of nearly two centuries, to retrace Dr. Hubbard's sonorous steps in unambitious prose, and to prolong his story to the present. In so doing I shall aim especially to indicate the chronological succession of large givers, showing thus how the standard of beneficence has risen from one generation to another.

The record cannot fail to begin with the well-known tale (or legend, shall I be expected to say?) of the little group of country ministers of the poor Colony of Connecticut, who had formed the project of a Collegiate School, and now insured their right to christen and direct it by a promised gift of books, which was definitely agreed on, as tradition asserts, at a meeting of some of their number, in Mr. Russel's parsonage at Branford, in the early part of October, 1701.

This agreement is justly held to be the proper and legal founding of the School; and the momentous act is not shorn of its importance by the circumstance that the books thus promised were almost certainly not at once handed over into any common repository.

But essential as this act of the founders was, the gift which they offered was nevertheless in vain until money could be added from some other source; and the stream of material aid began to flow at once, and effectively, with the appropriation generously granted in the charter from the Colonial Assembly of Connecticut, passed on October 16, 1701, namely, "£120 in country pay, to be paid annually," until otherwise ordered,—the phrase "country pay" meaning the prices set for the payment of rates, and equivalent therefore to only about £80, or somewhat under $275 in hard money, which in purchasing power answered perhaps to thrice that amount now.

The College records for the earliest period are incomplete; but enough of the Treasurer's accounts for the first nine years (to 1710) remain, to show that the Colony grant for those years averaged slightly more than the amount guaranteed in the charter; and this subsidy was what assured the continued existence of the School while at Saybrook.

For fifty-four years this bounty was regularly received, besides repeated additional gifts, especially for the erection of buildings; and later, when officials of the State were admitted to seats in the Corporation, another considerable sum was advanced, mainly for the erection of South College.

In 1755 the regular grant was withdrawn, out of dissatisfaction in the Assembly with the notions and plans of President Clap, especially perhaps with his repudiation of the Assembly as the founder or visitor of the College. Again, after 1792, the date when the State on reviving its patronage had paid so large a sum (upwards of $20,000) to the College, another attempt was made by so skillful a hand as President Dwight to secure a second grant of like amount; the attempt indeed succeeded (in 1796), but only at the expense of much bitter feeling, which so rankled as to block similar efforts for the future.

Smaller gifts, however, in 1816 and 1831 swelled the total of the sum computed to have come from the Colony and the State since 1701 to slightly over $80,000; and at this figure our direct indebtedness to the State Government rests.

While the Collegiate School lingered in a feeble condition at Saybrook, the Colony grant was its main dependence; but two hundred and seventy-five dollars a year, although corresponding in purchasing power to perhaps eight or nine hundred dollars, was hardly

enough, though assisted by modest tuition fees, to run a growing institution; and the Trustees and their friends—including such persons of influence as Cotton Mather, of Boston (a Harvard graduate, but much out of conceit with his own *Alma Mater*), and Jeremy Dummer (the able agent for Massachusetts and Connecticut at the Court of St. James)—exerted themselves to get a generous benefaction from some individual donor abroad.

In 1718 Mather and Dummer united in soliciting such a gift from the Hon. Elihu Yale, a retired East-India merchant, of wealth and liberality, then living in stately ease in London; and a cargo of Eastern goods contributed by him was received just in season to make glorious the fortunate removal of the College to New Haven, with which Yale himself was connected by ancestral ties, his father's mother having married Governor Eaton, the New Haven founder, and brought her son hither, where many of his relations still resided.

Governor Yale's recorded gifts, in the last three years of his life, were in the form of merchandise and books, representing perhaps from seven to eight hundred pounds, or something over $2500, in value. For the time this was undoubtedly a large gift, though we may now think that he purchased immortality somewhat cheaply. A contemporary judgment may be quoted from Dr. Hubbard's poem of 1733, which speaks thus of the building first called by his name:—

> "The pile by Yale's beneficence was rais'd,
> Who pious honours to his country paid,
> And deep and strong the sure foundations laid
> Of virtuous learning in his native soil;
> A generous bounty and a God-like toil.
> His country back her grateful vow repeats,
> And Yale in every thankful bosom beats."

It is too late to say anything new of Governor Yale; taking him with all his faults, he is yet a very presentable figure-head. But the oddest thing about his prominence is that the appropriation of his name by the institution was something of an accident, the intention of the original action of the Trustees being merely to name the newly built hall "Yale College," and the transfer of the title to the entire College being a speedy popular error.

In connection with the removal to New Haven, two gentlemen, who each gave the College in 1718 fifty pounds sterling, deserve commemoration as the largest American benefactors of the first generation, Governor Gurdon Saltonstall, the occupant of a country house on the borders of Lake Saltonstall, and Jahleel Brenton, a rich and childless aristocrat of Newport.

In 1732-3 Yale's rank as our most generous donor was yielded to Dean George Berkeley, an equally picturesque but more genuinely admirable character, who through his interest in a loyal alumnus of the Collegiate School, the Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, made over to the College his house and farm on Rhode Island and a noble collection of books,—the value of the whole in cash being estimated at from four thousand to forty-five hundred dollars, an amount not surpassed by any individual patron for ninety years to come.

Accustomed as we are to the story, it is difficult to realize the emotions experienced on the receipt of Berkeley's gift. Here was a highly-placed dignitary of the Church of England, of real eminence as a scholar, as a theologian, and above all as a philosopher, welcome in the foremost literary circles of Britain, and not in special sympathy with this obscure sectarian School, which he had never visited, and only incidentally heard of; yet he bestowed on it a series of gifts which must have seemed in their unexpectedness and their romance like touches from a fairy's wand,—as romantic and as unexpected as the recent bequest of Mr. Blount in our own generation.

Dr. Hubbard's "Poetical Attempt" of 1733 was written principally in Berkeley's praise, but I spare you all but a brief quotation:—

"Berkeley, prodigious man! with solemn bow
Thy name I mention and perform the vow
Of gratitude the Muse astonished made
When first she saw the plan thy genious laid.

* * * * * *

Yalensia owes the pow'r of knowing more
Than all her Sisters on the western shore,
To Berkeley's liberal hand that gave a Prize
(To animate her sons to glorious fame.)"

It is an example of poetic justice that Berkeley's design in coming to America, the founding of a College for the education of the native tribes, should have found its nearest fulfilment in the first award made of the Berkeley Scholarship in 1733 to Eleazar Wheelock, who devoted a good part of his life to schemes for the training of the North American Indians, at the school in Lebanon and at Dartmouth College.

Before we reach the next largest giver, three or four other benefactions deserve commemoration.

The earliest American to have his name connected, even temporarily, with an endowment of instruction at Yale was Philip Livingston, the head of a distinguished family in New York Province, four of whose sons had studied here, and who signified his appreciation of their training by the gift in 1745 of fifty pounds New Tenor,

or twenty-eight and a half pounds sterling, to the College Treasury. The money was sent without conditions, but President Clap was just then planning to organize a College church, and this was made the nucleus of a fund for the support of a Professor of Divinity and College pastor. Thus it came about that our oldest professorship was known for over a century as the Livingston Professorship of Divinity, until the much larger gifts of Mr. Simeon B. Chittenden in 1863 caused his name to be substituted in the title; as no professor, however, has been appointed since Dr. Barbour's retirement in 1887, both designations are alike unknown to this generation, and the professorship itself is ignored in the University catalogues.

A second endowment in the undergraduate department, for instruction in the Hebrew and other Oriental languages, was created in 1781 by a former Trustee, the Rev. Dr. Richard Salter, of Mansfield, who gave for this purpose a farm which was leased a few years later for $3700 for a term of 999 years. In my own days as an undergraduate the income of this fund was paid to a teacher who offered Hebrew as an optional study, at a time when optional subjects were otherwise almost unknown.

In 1782 came the earliest gift of any substantial amount from a regular graduate of the College, in the unrestricted bequest of five hundreds pounds or $1666 by Dr. Daniel Lathrop, of the Class of 1733, a well-to-do childless druggist of Norwich, from whom the late President Gilman derived his Christian name. Considering the pecuniary condition of the most of the graduates of that period, there is no need of surprise that we had waited eighty years for such a gift from their ranks. Harvard College, with a richer constituency, had no equally large benefaction from a graduate until 1770—one hundred and thirty years from her foundation.

The example of Dr. Lathrop was not contagious, and another quarter of a century passed without any equal accession to the funds from the graduate body. Finally, in 1807, came a donation from the Hon. Oliver Wolcott, of the Class of 1778, a rich New York banker, of two thousand dollars, of which the interest was devoted to the increase of the Library.

Thirteen or fourteen years later was received the news of a bequest of about $2600 from Noah Linsly, a bachelor lawyer in Virginia, of the Class of 1791, and formerly a tutor, whose name with that of a pious nephew is commemorated in a recent addition to the University Library, while the original gift raised by accumulation to $3000, in 1833, and augmented later by the same nephew, is devoted to the purchase of books in the department of modern languages.

The year 1823 marked the beginning of a notable series of contributions from another picturesque figure in our gallery of benefactors, Sheldon Clark, a plain farmer in the secluded hill-town of Oxford in this county, of limited early advantages, who had grasped the idea of the pleasure of providing advantages for others, and who now by paying over five thousand dollars as the first instalment of an accumulating fund for a new professorship, placed himself at the top of the roll of individual benefactors to the institution; the chair thus provided has been held in honorable succession by President Porter, Professor Ladd, and Professor Bakewell.

Only a few weeks later, David C. DeForest, of New Haven, a rich South American merchant, of even less scholarly antecedents than Sheldon Clark, who had recently built on the corner of Elm and Church streets, the house known to us as the residence of the late Mayor Sargent, also gave five thousand dollars as the basis of an accumulating fund for the education at College of his kindred of future generations, or in default of these, of other "young men of good talents," a provision which covers at present the annual tuition of nine or ten persons.

Again, in 1824, the first President Dwight's eldest son paid down a like amount (promised two years before) towards the foundation of the first endowed chair in the Divinity School, a chair which by means of this and other contemporaneous gifts became more liberally endowed than any other in the College at that date.

But to return to Sheldon Clark. His purposes were by no means exhausted in the provision for a Professorship of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics. In 1824 he gave one thousand dollars as the nucleus of an accumulating fund for graduate scholarships. Again, in 1828-9, he provided twelve hundred dollars for the purchase of a telescope and a pair of globes; and finally at his death in 1840, the College as residuary legatee received over seven thousand dollars in cash and the land about his homestead, of enough value to bring up the total of his gifts to over $20,000, or including the interest applied to accumulating funds to $30,000, thus making him the largest individual benefactor down to the era introduced by Mr. Sheffield, Mr. Salisbury, and Mr. Street. He deserves remembrance for the unusual breadth of his interests, aiming as he did at the promotion of both literature and science, and also for his early recognition of the usefulness of graduate scholarships, which would detain at the College a succession of promising students of advanced standing, who might later recruit the teaching force. His gifts have a further interest as representing the savings of a plain countryman, devoted

to a high purpose in surroundings uncongenial to such a development.

To the same general period belongs the first considerable gift to the library funds,—that of ten thousand dollars bequeathed by Dr. Alfred E. Perkins, of Norwich, of the Class of 1830, and received in 1836-7. The donor was a scholarly young bachelor, of cultured antecedents, who appreciated the opportunity of perpetuating his influence in a congenial way; and his was the largest single gift which had been received by the Corporation to that date.

In 1842-3 the erection of a Library building gave occasion for the first considerable contribution from an eminent benefactor whom some of us recall as a member of this Club, Professor Edward E. Salisbury. His gifts covered a wide field and a long series of years, —in fact are not even yet wholly matured; and some were made with such self-effacement that I am not able to be sure that I have credited the whole number. The chief items already received, after the one first mentioned, are the partial endowment of a professorship for Mr. Dana in 1851-2; the founding of a professorship for Mr. Whitney in 1862-70; gifts towards the erection of the Divinity Halls in 1868-73; and further gifts to the Library after 1870. The total of Mr. Salisbury's contributions has been said to be about $130,000, but although this estimate is possibly correct, I am only able to account definitely for a little under $100,000; but even at that figure the sum is sufficiently notable, and will be ultimately much increased. Mr. Salisbury was made a Professor in 1841, without salary, at the suggestion of his brother-in-law, Mr. Woolsey; and thus was the first holder of that office possessed of any considerable independent income. In inherited tastes and manner he differed somewhat from the ordinary Yale type, reproducing rather the old-fashioned Harvard type; and those who knew him in his active years retain a deep respect for his character and his influence.

Israel Munson, a native of New Haven, and a graduate of the College in 1787, died in 1844 after a long and honorable career as a merchant in Boston. He had given five thousand dollars to the College in 1833, to which he added by his will twenty thousand more, which made him the largest individual donor up to that date. His name was in gratitude attached to what was regarded as one of the more important professorships, that of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy; but that chair also has suffered an eclipse, having been lost to sight since the death of Professor Loomis in 1889.

Mr. Woolsey succeeded to the presidency in 1846, but it was not until 1854 that any of the new group of benefactors who made his term of office so memorable, began their activity.

In that year Joseph Battell, a New York merchant, who though not graduated here, was closely connected with Yale by family ties, made a gift of five thousand dollars for the promotion of the Chapel music; his other large gifts, during the next twenty years, aggregating about one hundred thousand dollars, went mainly to the erection in 1875 of the Chapel bearing the family name.

In 1854 came also the first gift, of five thousand dollars, to the Scientific School, from Joseph E. Sheffield, a native of Connecticut, resident for the past twenty years in New Haven, who was now just retiring from a remarkably active and successful business career in the South and West. A second gift from him of like amount followed in 1856; and in 1858 began the expenditure involved in the purchase and equipment of Sheffield Hall, amounting to over one hundred thousand dollars. Mr. Sheffield's bounty, next beyond Israel Munson's in extent, was confined to the Scientific School; but the general facts of his munificence are so well known that I need only chronicle their probable sum, which I suppose was near two million dollars.

The gifts of another citizen, Augustus R. Street, the son of a wealthy business-man of New Haven and a graduate of 1812, but debarred by delicate health from active life, began in 1855 with the first instalment of the foundation of a professorship of Modern Languages, completed in 1864. From him and his wife came also in later years a foundation for a professorship of Ecclesiastical History in the Divinity School, and the important gifts which established the School of the Fine Arts, making a total of about $400,000.

In 1855 began also an interesting series of gifts of Simeon B. Chittenden, a Brooklyn merchant, who was a native of Guilford in this county and had expected to enter college, but by the failure of his resources was diverted into a business life, at first in New Haven. His later completion of the endowment of the College pulpit and provision for the erection of a new Library building, swelled the sum of his benefactions to over $175,000.

Henry L. Ellsworth, a graduate in 1810, of renowned Connecticut stock, whose life had been mainly spent in the Government service and the development of the West, died in New Haven in 1858, and I well remember the thrill of excitement which accompanied the announcement that he had left to Yale a vast revenue for the education of indigent students. The sum actually realized, from the sale of Western lands, after a prolonged litigation, now stands at a little short of $100,000.

Oliver F. Winchester, a successful manufacturer of New Haven, who had not had the advantages of a college training, made in 1856 his first gift to the Scientific School; and his munificence to the Observatory in 1871 raised the sum of his donations to over $100,000; while the more recent benefactions of the members of his family, especially to the Art School, the Scientific School, and the Medical School, have increased that total to at least $375,000.

Henry Farnam, another son of Connecticut, whose business career had begun in New Haven, and had been continued at the West with well-deserved success, retired at the age of sixty in 1863, and at that date, before again taking up his residence here, made his first gift towards the erection of Farnam Hall. He himself, during the remaining twenty years of his life, and the various members of his family since, have been unfailingly generous in their prompt and cordial responses to the multifarious demands presented to them. Their gifts must already have amounted to between three and four hundred thousand dollars, besides the real estate devised in Mr. Farnam's will, now subject to a life-interest. The older ones among us recall our frequent enjoyment of the hospitality of Mr. Farnam as a member of this club, and treasure the memory of his keen and kindly interest in the welfare of the College.

In 1865, Bradford M. C. Durfee, then recently an undergraduate in the College, made a partial foundation (afterwards increased) for a professorship of History, to be held by his former tutor, Mr. Arthur M. Wheeler; he also contributed in 1870 the amount necessary for the erection of Durfee Hall, the two items being over $100,000.

In October, 1866, George Peabody, an international benefactor (whose interest in Yale had been aroused by the appointment, three months before, of his nephew, O. C. Marsh, to the professorship of Paleontology, without salary), offered to the College, upon terms drawn up by Professor Marsh, $150,000, a larger sum than any previous single gift, for the erection and upkeep of a Museum of Natural History,—with which was later combined the memorable bounty of Marsh himself (of which it is hardly possible to estimate the money value), in pursuance of kindred objects. Of Marsh himself, as my immediate contemporary and close personal friend, I can hardly speak without prejudice or what might seem like fulsome praise; I doubt if he knew except in the vaguest way how much money he had spent for the Museum; it is enough to adopt the felicitous phrase of the inscriptions on his monument, "To Yale University he gave his services, his collections, and his estate."

In 1869 by the death of Philip Marett, an adopted citizen of New Haven, on whom the College had no other known claim, a bequest

was received, not available, however, until twenty years later, amounting to over $150,000, for scholarships and other College purposes.

In 1871 came the first of an important series of gifts to the Divinity School from Frederick Marquand, a native of Connecticut, and New York merchant, which during the next eight years reached about $125,000.

Passing by a notable succession of what by the standard now attained must be dismissed as smaller givers, we come in 1881 to the offer of the Sloane Physical Laboratory by Henry T. and Thomas C. Sloane, graduates of the College in 1866 and 1868, respectively, and other subsequent gifts from these and other members of the same family to other objects (especially to the Library), which now amount in all to over $425,000.

In 1886 Albert E. Kent, a native of Connecticut and a graduate of the class of 1853, gave a building fund for a Chemical Laboratory; this sum, increased by his own bequest and by a further gift of his son, a graduate of the class of 1887, amounts to over $166,000.

In 1887 Mrs. Charles J. Osborn, of New York City, at the suggestion of her legal adviser, John W. Sterling, a graduate of the class of 1864, offered to erect a recitation-hall as a memorial of her deceased husband, which was completed in 1889 at a cost of $180,000, the next largest gift since Mr. Peabody's in 1866; it is also understood that a further and larger sum will ultimately be received from Mrs. Osborn's estate.

But this gift of Mrs. Osborn was overtopped two years later on the death of Elias Loomis, the Senior Professor in the College, whose will provided for the eventual endowment of the Observatory with a fund of $312,000, the remarkable savings of a life engrossingly devoted, not to money-making, but to scholarly pursuits and research.

This sum in turn was outdistanced the next year on the death of Daniel B. Fayerweather, a New York merchant of Connecticut birth and connections, from whom this University (together with other similar institutions) received a generous bequest, which eventually yielded about $436,000.

Pierce N. Welch, of New Haven, a graduate of 1862, in 1891 assumed the expense of erecting a new dormitory, which with an outlay for subsequent repairs and improvements made a total gift of over $140,000.

Edward M. Reed, a valued official of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad and a resident of New Haven, bequeathed in 1892 about $125,000 to the Observatory, which is, however, not yet available.

In 1893 Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, of New York City, made their gift of Vanderbilt Hall, as a memorial of a deceased son; but so far as I am aware no estimate has been made public of its cost. In 1900 a bequest of $100,000 was also received from Mr. Vanderbilt; and a son has since made a subscription of $250,000 to the University funds. Probably the total of these sums will be nearly three-quarters of a million of dollars.

In 1893 also Dr. Andrew J. White, an alumnus of the Medical School (1846), whose son was then an undergraduate in the College, presented a dormitory to the Corporation, the cost of which was somewhat over $125,000.

In 1897 the death of William Lampson, of Leroy, N. Y., a graduate of the College in 1862, and a man of highly cultivated tastes, brought to the College a large estate, which has yielded nearly $450,000, thus placing the donor for the time at the head of the list of individual givers, and in this respect making the epoch of President Dwight's administration yet more remarkable.

In 1900 came the beginning of a series of gifts from the family of James W. Pinchot, of New York City (two sons having been graduated here in 1889 and 1897 respectively), for the establishment of the Forest School, which have already amounted to upwards of $200,000.

In 1902 the death of Edward W. Southworth, an alumnus of the College in 1875, from New Haven, and a man of rare intellectual gifts—*Multis ille bonis flebilis*—brought an endowment to the Library, which with a few earlier gifts of like nature made up a total of over $140,000.

The gift of Byers Hall in 1902, from Mrs. A. M. Byers, of Pittsburg, in memory of a deceased son, deserves to be mentioned, although I have no knowledge of the cost.

A similar lack of information exists in the case of the very large gifts of Frederick W. Vanderbilt, a graduate of the Scientific School in 1876, which began in 1903, and those of John Hays Hammond, a classmate of Mr. Vanderbilt.

Under date of 1902 mention should also be made of the gift by Mrs. William W. Boardman, of New Haven, to the Sheffield Scientific School of money for the erection of Kirtland Hall, in memory of her uncle, Dr. Jared P. Kirtland, of Cleveland, a graduate of the Medical School in 1815, at an expense of $108,000.

In 1904 was received a bequest from William B. Ross, of New York City, an alumnus of the College in 1852, for the erection of a building, in honor of Dr. Jared Linsly (Class of 1826). The amount

of the gift (over $370,000) was expended for an addition to the Library and the creation of a maintenance fund for its repair .

In 1904 came also the largest sum yet given by any individual at one time, one million dollars from John D. Rockefeller, of New York.

In 1905 came the remarkable bequest to the Sheffield Scientific School of $250,000 from Levi C. Viets, of Hartford.

In 1906 two brothers, Charles W. and Edward S. Harkness, graduates of the College in 1883 and 1897 respectively, contributed $500,000 to the University funds.

In 1908 a recitation-hall was built for the Sheffield Scientific School, at an expense of $150,000, by Mrs. James Brown Oliver, of Pittsburg, to commemorate the name of a son who had died before graduation.

And the list ends, as it began, with the receipt of a gift from the mother country, in the shape of the bequest from Archibald Blount, of Hereford, amounting to upwards of $320,000.

I recall that one of the most persistent and censorious critics of the University has been fond of the assertion that our own graduates do not give us money, and neither do residents of our own city; but any one who has followed this record will certainly find both of these imputations unfounded.

There are many other interesting figures in this gallery of our benefactors, besides Elihu Yale and George Berkeley and Sheldon Clark. To name but a single example: for many years we had among the frequenters of the Library a quiet elderly man, so appreciative of good literature that it was always a pleasure to help him. In earlier life I have learned that he had kept a small shop in the centre of the city, retiring early with some savings; and at his death, in 1888, he left ten thousand dollars to the Library funds and five thousand for scholarships in the Divinity School. The gifts were modest, in keeping with the personality of the giver; but I never see in one of our books a plate crediting the volume to the Gabriel Fund without a thrill at the thought that we owe a constant succession of such literature to the careful thrift of a humble tradesman without early opportunities, who so prized his later opportunities as to desire to extend them to others.

To take another example: the donor of the University Professorship of Comparative Anatomy, Dr. Henry Bronson, of this city, a former Professor in the Medical School, was a man of unusually vigorous mind and comprehensive interests. His gift of $80,000 for this purpose testifies to his forethought and his scientific acumen; and those who knew him find an added interest from the remem-

brance of his gruff, austere personality, with a manner as complaisant as a March wind—the external qualities not usually associated with wise plans and munificent provision for others not of one's own household.

I have dwelt thus on the larger benefactors of Yale, and they deserve great honor; but our praise of them should not obscure the remembrance of the far greater number of givers of comparatively small means, representing often more self-denial and as much devotion, whose loyalty has ever been and even will be the strength and the support of such an institution as ours.

Note. The remarkable increase of large endowments in the last ten years has rendered the above statistics very inadequate; but it has not been convenient to bring the story down to date.

REMINISCENCES OF THE OFFICERS OF YALE COLLEGE IN 1857.

[Read to "The Club," New Haven, February, 1911.]

Of the ten clerical Fellows of the Yale Corporation at my entrance into College in 1857, I have personal recollection of only six.

The Rev. Dr. NOAH PORTER, of Farmington, father of President Porter, remained in office as a Fellow until 1862, but I remember seeing him only once or twice,—particularly at one of the Friday evening Church meetings, held in what was known as the President's Lecture-Room, on the first floor at the rear of the Lyceum. These meetings were attended by the members of the Faculty and their families, as well as by students; and the custom continued until the Marquand Chapel was built in 1871, when the meetings were transferred thither, though soon after discontinued. They were sustained mainly by the Faculty, though the students were also encouraged to take part.

I have a distinct mental picture of Dr. Porter's figure as he appeared on the occasion referred to; he impressed me as rather under than over medium height, somewhat broad-shouldered and square-faced, with decidedly plain features and a rusty brown wig. He seemed to me a typical country clergyman of the early part of the century, a curious survival of antiquity, without any special grace or attractiveness. He perhaps took part in the exercises, but I do not recall the effect. He was very deaf in his old age, and for this reason resigned from the Corporation four years before his death. One specially remarkable thing about his long and eminent career in the ministry was that, although Farmington was his native town, and his family had not been a conspicuous one, he maintained himself in the community where he was born and bred, and gained a position of unique influence which has been maintained by the succeeding generations.

President JEREMIAH DAY survived until July, 1867, dying at the age of ninety-four. He was graduated in 1795, when Dr. Dwight was inaugurated as President; I have no distinct recollection of any graduate of earlier standing. During my first College term I lived on the northwest corner of College and Crown streets, in what was then the next house on the Crown street side to that built by President Day just before his election to the Presidency. The Cor-

poration declined to allow him to remain there, as he would not be able to manage the College while living at such a distance; and the house was rented to successive tenants (among others to Professors Fitch and Gibbs), until the owner retired from office in 1846, when he returned thither from the College Green, to make a home with his new son-in-law, Professor Thacher. It thus happened that among my earliest recollections of New Haven is the venerable figure of the Ex-President as I saw him in his daily walk to the Post-office, which was then on Chapel street, just below the rail-road cut; and there was little change in his appearance through the remaining ten years of his life.

He was of spare habit, above middle height, somewhat bent; his head was large, with square forehead, sunken eyes, and overhanging eyebrows; the general impression of his bearing was one of extreme seriousness, almost mournfulness, and of painful deliberation of movement. He wore always, unless in the heat of summer, the long black cloak with broad velvet collar which was commonly worn by the older professors of that time; his stove-pipe hat was apparently as venerable as himself; and the melancholy slowness of his gait was exaggerated by the use of large india-rubber overshoes, in which he shuffled feebly along the pavement. This vision of him is supplemented by another, as he appeared on Sundays in his pew in the South gallery of the College Chapel; or at the monthly communion service, when he sat alone in one of the slightly raised boxes (for officers) on either side of the pulpit stairway; on such occasions not infrequently his wig would be awry, adding to the pathetic forlornness of his appearance; he looked somehow, with his furrowed face, burnt-out eyes, and trembling form, like a relic of long past generations, waiting in resigned feebleness and dejection for the release which was his rightful due.

I had but one personal interview with him. On the occasion of some gathering at Professor Thacher's house, probably about 1864 while I was a Tutor, I was presented to the Ex-President, in his study in the east wing of the house. My awe of him prevented my using the opportunity to converse with one who had been a pupil of President Stiles, in whom I was already much interested; and nothing passed between us but some brief reference to my connection with the College.

I once heard President Day, probably also in 1864, when he was 91 years of age, make a public address. The Day of Prayer for Colleges was then held in February of each year, and was observed as a half-holiday here, a meeting of Faculty and students being held in the afternoon. The Ex-President made a brief address, and

showed no sign of mental failure, such as might have been expected in one of his extreme age. I remember also that he said grace at the public dinner held in Music Hall, on Crown Street, in Commencement Week, 1865, in commemoration of the connection of the Alumni with the Union army in the Civil War. His voice was not audible at any distance in that vast assembly, but the benediction of his presence added distinctly to the impressiveness of the occasion; I also heard him officiate in like manner at some of the annual dinners of graduates on Commencement Day in Alumni Hall in other years. The tones of his voice as they come back to me in this review emphasize the impression of his extreme seriousness. I should suppose from what I have heard that he had little sense of humor; yet the files of his correspondence, now in the University Library, include a sheaf of letters from his College classmates, during his undergraduate years, which imply a share on his part in all their boyish pranks; and he used to tell a story of one occasion when a part of his class met to read disputes before Dr. Stiles: the President had just received a parcel of foreign newspapers, and Day was the first summoned to read his essay; he saw that Dr. Stiles was absorbed in his papers, and when he had done he quietly handed his manuscript to the next reader, and so it passed on through the entire list; and when repeated for the last time, the Doctor roused himself to say, "You have disputed very handsomely," and the session ended.

From Professor Thacher's testimony I know that his religious life was peculiarly humble and earnest, and that the habit of self-examination so characteristic of that generation was kept up to the last. His self-command and reserve are shown most remarkably in the record of his extraordinary medical experience, published after his death in the State Medical Society's Proceedings by his physician, Dr. Stephen G. Hubbard.

At the time of his death he was perhaps the oldest citizen of New Haven. He used to tell of having held the chain, while a student, for the survey of the plot of ground (then a berry-pasture) belonging to James Hillhouse, which became the Grove Street cemetery, opened in 1795.

As the head of the College the impression transmitted by his pupils represents him as eminently paternal and benevolent in his dealings with them. I have sometimes thought of Dean Wright as his lineal successor in a certain reticence and judicious calmness. President Day won the respect and trust of the student community through their sense of his fairness and justice, rather than by commanding mental endowments. A typical example of his influence was given

me by a member of the Class of 1828, who recalled meeting a classmate who had been caught in some deviltry and was just returning from an interview with the President, overcome with real penitence and declaring that he "didn't know the President was so good a man."

It is characteristic of the force of his example that so long as he lived, Professor Thacher's family, of which he was a member, retained the observance of the beginning of the Sabbath at sunset on Saturday.

The Rev. Dr. JOEL HAWES, of Hartford, was a member of the Corporation from 1846 to his death in 1867. My recollections of him in my student days are confined mainly to his appearances in the Chapel pulpit; but there he made a strong impression from his earnestness and old-fashioned plainness. I remember vividly his awkward and ponderous gestures with his abnormally large hands (the Doctor was large and long-limbed in every way), and especially his wetting his big thumb in his capacious mouth to sweep over the successive leaves of his yellow manuscript. With all drawbacks, however, we recognized him as a man of real power, though cast in an ungainly mould.

Later, when I undertook the tutorship (in 1864), it was with consternation that I saw him enter the room where I was examining a division of Freshmen, not a few of whom were older than myself, in Euclid. It was the custom for the Corporation to name a Committee of their own number, at each Winter and Spring examination, to visit the various class-rooms and report. No doubt Dr. Hawes as an examiner meant to be courteous and affable; but it was like an elephant at play. There was something overbearing, or at least overawing, in his natural manner; and the effect of his appearance, in my room at least, was invariably to cause a scattering of wits, on the part of the pupils if not of the tutor also.

He outlived his usefulness in his own parish; but when at his funeral President Woolsey with characteristic candor spoke the truth in regard to his treatment of his associate pastor, some of the leaders in the Society, who had not hesitated to feel mortification at the fact, were greatly scandalized at its open imputation, so that the language used was smoothed down in the published proceedings.

The Rev. Dr. JOSEPH ELDRIDGE, of Norfolk, was the Senior Fellow when I became Secretary of the Corporation in 1869, and died in 1875. Though slightly under middle height, he was gifted with striking nobility of presence, due to the dignified and commanding expression of his fine face. In my observation of his influence in the sessions of the Corporation there was abundant

reason for crediting him with sound judgment and superior intellectual force. He was also the soul of kindness, and I felt towards him a stronger personal attraction than towards any of his associates in that period. Though his entire ministry was spent in a remote country parish, he was recognized among his brethren as the peer of the most accomplished. Doubtless a part of his distinction was a result of his alliance with the Battell family, which has effected so much in his own and the succeeding generation for the prosperity and the adornment of Norfolk.

I remember but faintly his occasional sermons in the College Chapel while I was a student; my impression is that if he had been fully aroused by circumstances he would have been a powerful preacher, but that from indolence or shyness or some kindred cause he fell a little short of what from undeniable intimations his hearers felt that he was competent to accomplish.

The Rev. George J. Tillotson died so recently as 1888, having held a seat in the Corporation for almost forty years—since 1849. His selection was due to the old principle of local representation, under which for more than a century the nine clerical Fellows were distributed evenly over the nine counties of the Colonial or State government. Mr. Tillotson's active ministry was spent in Windham County; but I doubt if he added at any time any strength to the Board of Fellows. He was of thin and wiry habit, close-shaven, bright-eyed, sharp-featured, with dark hair almost untouched to the end by any sign of age, with a brisk manner and chirrupy tone; but so far as I could see a complete cipher in the counsels of the Corporation. I had no personal relations with him, beyond what resulted from seeing him for many years in the formal sessions of the Corporation. Though he accumulated some property, and was generous in founding an Institution in the State of Texas to perpetuate his own name, he gave nothing, I believe, at any time to the College whose work and needs he had such intimate opportunities of knowing.

The Rev. Edwin R. Gilbert, of Wallingford, was a member of the Corporation from 1849 until his death in 1874. A pale, slender, light-haired man, of a little over average height, he impressed me as a pastor of modest, unassuming worth, with no remarkable gifts of intellect or expression. There was a tinge of gentle melancholy about him, as of one who was fitted by frequent experience of sorrow to console others.

I never heard but one public performance of Mr. Gilbert's, a paper on Wallingford history, read before the New Haven Colony Historical Society; the matter recounted was intelligently put, but included

nothing unknown to historical students. From the fact that, although residing near by, he was never in my time seen in the College pulpit, I infer that he was not distinguished as a preacher. I recall a characteristic utterance of President Woolsey in the brief address which he made at Mr. Gilbert's grave, when he observed, in substance, that our deceased friend was well aware that his talents were but moderate and indulged in no undue pretensions.

The Hon. JAMES E. ENGLISH, of New Haven, who was afterwards Governor of the State and United States Senator, was an *ex-officio* member of the Yale Corporation in 1857, as being one of the six senior State Senators. I have no recollection of him at that date; but later his erect, trim figure was familiar on the city streets, and I came to know him personally when he was again in the Corporation as Governor, from 1867 to 1870. He was then remarkably vigorous for his years, and noteworthy for his shrewd common-sense and native dignity. I think, however, that he did not feel sufficiently at home in the Board to exert direct influence. Possibly his lack of early opportunities made him somewhat reserved in such a group, though he had their genuine respect for force of character and uprightness, as well as for remarkable business capacity. It has been said that his large fortune was in some measure the result of his foresight in shrewd purchases of articles needed for army supplies at the time of the Civil War, as suggested to him by his mother's recollections of her experience in the War of 1812.

The Rev. SAMUEL R. ANDREW, a lineal descendant of the Rev. Samuel Andrew, of Milford, who served as Rector of the College *pro tempore* after Rector Pierson's death, was the Secretary of the Corporation from 1846 to his death in 1858. He spent his later years in New Haven, after retiring from the active ministry.

I never met him, but recall distinctly his appearance in Chapel on Sundays, when he occupied with his family one of the middle pews in the front row of the South gallery. He was of an ample figure, with soft white hair and dark green spectacles,—a very placid, benign-looking old gentlemen, though I believe that some experiences of his early years, while a teacher in the South, were quite at variance with this appearance.

He wrote a round, legible hand, and kept the records of the Corporation with evident accuracy and fullness.

Mr. EDWARD C. HERRICK held when I entered College, as he had already done for five years, the two offices of Librarian and Treasurer; and the fact is significant of the poverty of the College and the small volume of its affairs, as well as of his energy and versatility. Of course he had assistance in both positions; but his own

labors were very heavy, and as he did not know how to spare himself, I have little doubt that his early death was in part caused by overwork.

Mr. Herrick was of tall, spare habit, rapid in his movements, with a cheerfulness bordering on merriment, and kindliness and frankness which won the hearts of both old and young. Though a man of large acquisitions in many directions, there was nothing of the reserved scholar in his bearing; he was affable and chatty, in his office or on the street, and impressed one as a busy man of affairs, least of all as a pedant. His exactness and accuracy were proverbial and these were perhaps his most marked traits to the ordinary observer of his official career. A special characteristic was his neat, clear, regular penmanship, which could on occasion be wonderfully minute, and was always a delight to the eye, and which served moreover (unconsciously) as a model for many of his friends.

His scientific tastes were strongly developed, and in the departments of astronomy and entomology especially his keenness of vision and logical clearness of mind made his observations and deductions of signal value.

He died in 1862, and if I can trust my own recollections, his charming simplicity and frankness, combined with his mental quickness and breadth of interests, were what endeared him most to those who knew him best. The bas-relief in the University Library by Palmer gives fairly well the pleasant expression of his face in repose, though the sculptor never saw him and worked from very insufficient materials.

Some natural affinity of tastes drew me to him, and I felt gratified and honored in the later part of my college course by admission to some slight degree of intimacy in relation to his current historical interests. I remember, for instance, assisting him in the preparation of the Obituary Record of deceased graduates for 1861, and in that connection going to President Woolsey's office for his revision of the proof-sheet containing the notice of his brilliant young nephew, Theodore Winthrop. I had already explored pretty thoroughly the manuscripts of Dr. Stiles in the College Library, and this had helped to bring me into sympathy with Mr. Herrick, who was the recognized oracle in respect to all matters of College antiquity. Little did I foresee that his early death, and the friendship of such men as President Woolsey, and Professors Porter, Thacher, and Gilman, would open a way for my succeeding to his place as College historian.

Mr. Herrick had been known for many years to be gathering material for the biographies of the graduates of the eighteenth century; and it was a disappointment to find at his death that he had

done practically nothing in carrying out his intention, though having prepared a series of folio volumes for the purpose. His rough collection of notes was of much value for my own work, but I always regretted that he did not have the time to put his material into final form.

He was only fifty-one when he died; but sharp illness and incessant labor had aged him prematurely. I ought perhaps to qualify what I have said of his kindliness by mention of his natural impatience at having his time invaded by bores, which may have on occasion given him the appearance of brusqueness, but no man was ever at heart more friendly or in action more helpful. The experience of the helpless daughters of one of his old friends was a typical one; they placed in his care their scanty means, and when an investment of their father's proved worthless, Mr. Herrick forbore to expose the facts, but continued while he lived to furnish the expected amount of income from his own resources.

President Woolsey was first known to me by his conduct of morning prayers in the Chapel, and in these exercises his evident deep religious feeling affected even the most thoughtless. The awe with which I then regarded him continued to be ever after, even when I came to stand in somewhat close relation to him, the predominant sentiment in my mind. As students we thought of him as a stern and awful embodiment of rectitude, capable of flashes of indignation which might wither like lightning from Sinai.

I remember on some occasion of foolish masquerading, perhaps in connection with a "powwow" early in Sophomore year, being halted on the pavement in front of the colleges, while wearing a flimsy disguise, by the President and Professor Larned, and made to give my name; the severity of the President's tone frightened me beyond measure, but there was no after effect, beyond the order to go to my room and remove my disguise at once.

As Seniors we came under his instruction in History, Political Economy, and International Law; and the main impression made on my memory is quite as much of amazement at his marvelous retention of minute details as of his command of principles. These imperfect recollections do not lead me, however, to think of him as eminently successful in the teaching of these branches. I have no doubt that in his earlier field of study, the Greek language and literature, partly perhaps from the impulse of his younger years, he both felt and was able to arouse much more enthusiasm. As I knew him, there was rather a chilly atmosphere of repression about his appearance in the class-room.

As an administrator I had the opportunity to observe him at close range in later years, and one predominant feeling is of wonder at his unwavering devotion to petty and repellent details. After becoming Secretary of the Corporation, I wished to take out of his hands such burdens as might fitly fall within my province; but he was unwilling to give up even such mere drudgery as the enveloping and directing of catalogues in response to daily requests. He had conscientiously undertaken, in assuming office, irksome duties, which he loathed as interfering with his scholarly life; but beyond any man I have known, having put his hand to the plough, he would not draw back. His high conception of duty carried him through an amount of drudgery which would have daunted most men.

In the presidential office he was perhaps often regarded, at least among the younger members of the Faculty, as autocratic; and he certainly was so, though frankly and bluntly to a degree which did much to silence discussion. An infirmity of hasty temper, which was natural to him as a young man, and which was in some quarters thought of as a serious objection to his election as President, was in great measure overcome in later life, but he had to the last the power of summarily overriding opposition, and vetoing unwelcome suggestions or requests by simply pocketing them. His judgment of men was not, I think, particularly good, and he acted too often, even in grave matters, on hasty impulse, without giving much heed to consultation. I have in mind instances, both of appointments to office and of failures to appoint, which were due apparently to hasty action on his part, which resulted to the injury of the College.

And yet, autocrat though he was, he was not in this respect any more to be criticised than were others, who veiled their autocracy under a greater show of fairness and accomplished by indirection what the old President would have scorned to do in any but the most open and abrupt way.

For, after all, he was the most guileless and upright of men; humble and childlike in his religious faith, and obedient to the sway of that faith in the secret springs as well as the open manifestations of his character.

I remember as characteristic of his humility and sincerity a chance remark as I walked with him after the Commencement exercises in 1871 to his room, where he was to disrobe before going to the Alumni Hall for dinner: it was in substance, "Now I must go over there and be beslobbered with compliments," and was said in the tone of one who loathed all pretence and all affectation of praise for what was merely from his point of view duty done.

As a preacher he exercised a distinct influence, the more remarkable from the circumstance that for twenty years before his promotion to the Presidency he had abandoned all thought of preaching. As may be seen from his printed sermons, his style was severely plain, and it was furthered by no graces of oratory; but there was a sincerity of conviction and depth of feeling in his utterance which stirred the consciences of his hearers. That such composition was no burden, but rather a pastime, I know from the indifference with which he once accepted the return of some penciled drafts of sermons, found in a book which he had brought back to the Library, saying frankly that he had often written sermons, with no thought of using them.

The bronze statue of President Woolsey, placed in the College grounds in 1896, presents a satisfactory likeness in profile, especially on the northern side; but the effect of massiveness hardly does justice to a certain delicacy of feature and spiritual expression which were an essential part of the entire man.

Highly characteristic was his reply in the Library on a hot August day, when asked if it was true that he was to preach next day in the Centre Church: "Yes, I said I couldn't, but when they said they should go next to Dr. ———, I concluded that I would rather preach myself than hear him."

Professor BENJAMIN SILLIMAN, Senior, then the almost unique holder of what is now becoming a hard-worked title, *Emeritus,* was nearly eighty years of age when I first saw him; my recollections, therefore, can hardly do him justice. He was, of course, wholly retired from public duty, and my most distinct impression of him is gathered from an address made to our class when Seniors, by request, on the annual Day of Prayer for Colleges. He was evidently gratified by the invitation, and his brief talk to us was frankly egotistical in its simple personal character. His manner was strikingly courteous, that of a polished gentleman of the old school, accustomed to the veneration of a large family circle. He was more a man of the outside world than any other of his generation among his colleagues, with a buoyant confidence in the good-will of all mankind. He had stood forth for a long period as the public orator and spokesman of the College, and must have been in his prime strikingly dignified and handsome. His portraits do not do him justice, and the bust in the University Library unfortunately preserves his severest expression, while his customary aspect was specially genial and benign. I am not competent to pass judgment on the statue by Professor Weir as a work of art, but it certainly reproduces in general his noble face and figure.

The Rev. Dr. NATHANIEL W. TAYLOR, the head of the Divinity School, died in my Freshman year, and my only sight of him was as he lay in his coffin at the funeral in the Centre Church. Two distinct recollections which I retain are of the prayer of Dr. Bacon, with its felicitous petitions, especially one in behalf of "Thine aged handmaid," the widow, who was too feeble to be present; and of the impressive rendering of one of the hymns to the tune of Windham, which was unfamiliar to me and seemed wonderful in its weird and mournful effect.

Later, as I became intimate with Mrs. Porter, Dr. Taylor's daughter, and Professor Fisher, I gained some impression of his traits of character; but this is not fairly included under the head of personal recollections.

Dr. JONATHAN KNIGHT continued in the full discharge of the duties of the Professorship of Surgery until 1864, but I did not know him personally. He delivered a short course of lectures on Anatomy to my class in our Senior year, and I recall vividly his gracious presence. There was about him a special air of suavity and courtesy, combined with the easy bearing of an assumed master of his subject. He wore, as the old-school physicians of that time were wont to do, a dress-coat and spotless white neckerchief in many folds which seemed to comport well with his soft white hair. I do not suppose that he had been really handsome, but he almost gave that impression in old age, although his head shook with palsy and his features were furrowed by care. The marble bust executed just after his death and belonging to the Medical School is a faithful representation of his features.

Professor JOSIAH W. GIBBS was a unique figure beyond any other in the College world of 1857. My ideal picture of him is as I remember him, an attenuated, fragile wisp of a man, in the traditional long black professional cloak, traveling slowly along the windswept street and clinging to the board fence for safety. There was a weird, uncanny look about his haggard face and scanty gray locks, as if he were steeped in unworldly lore and not quite conscious of the earth and his surroundings. I recall his occasional exegetical remarks in the Friday-evening prayer-meetings, learned and ingenious and wholly *sui generis*. He was Professor of Sacred Literature in the Divinity School, and was undeniably for many years the most erudite and acute representative of advanced scholarship, whither broad or minute, on these grounds; but with a peculiar temperament which led him to hold his judgment in suspense about every question which admitted of more than one answer, and thus interfered with his practical success as a teacher. In the lecture-

room of his later years, as I judge from what I was told, his energies were largely given to parrying the efforts of irreverent pupils to extract from him positive expressions of opinion; and it was said of him that when as a young candidate for the ministry he had appeared in the Chapel pulpit, his manuscript was so interlined with alternative readings that he found great difficulty in completing his sentences.

The Rev. Eleazar T. Fitch retired from the College pastorate in 1852, and had ceased to preach before my knowledge of New Haven. On one occasion only, the commemoration of the centennial anniversary of the founding of the College Church, in November, 1857, he assisted in the exercises by reading one or two of the hymns, a part of the service for which in his prime he had been justly eminent.

He had been made Professor of Divinity and College pastor at an early age, and enjoyed a distinguished reputation as a preacher. This was rather due to special sermons, perhaps, than to his ordinary ones; and those which had won special favor were preached over and over, at judicious intervals, with marked success. It was apt to be whispered abroad whenever either one of these noted sermons or one newly composed was to be given, with the reward of a large and attentive audience in the galleries; but his more ordinary discourses were also preached over and over, with less satisfactory results.

His voice had a clear, ringing quality, and in the reading of the Scriptures and of hymns he was peculiarly effective in modulating his tones and in introducing rhetorical pauses. For extemporaneous service and for pastoral duty he was, however, ill-adapted, probably owing to excessive shyness.

On the only occasions of my meeting him he gave no indication of power or genius, but impressed me as a prematurely aged man, with a thick-set clumsy figure, mild-mannered and hesitating as an overgrown child.

The Rev. Dr. Chauncey A. Goodrich was the exact opposite of his classmate, Dr. Fitch, in important particulars regarding their public appearances. Indeed he had gladly, so long as Dr. Fitch occupied the pulpit, supplemented his deficiencies as a pastor in all ways that involved direct contact with the student world.

Dr. Goodrich's throne, as I saw him, was the chair in the President's lecture-room in the Lyceum, from which he delivered, directly after the supper-hour on Sundays, a series of felicitous extemporaneous addresses on themes of practical religion. This meeting he had sustained for years, and it was unquestionably the most efficient religious influence in the College. Part of the service was its appa-

rent informality. Discarding the methods of an ordinary prayer-meeting, the speaker sat easily in his chair and talked in a familiar, natural manner to an audience which very rarely failed to fill the room to its utmost capacity. Dr. Goodrich had been for forty years Professor of Rhetoric, at first in the College and afterwards in the Divinity School, and no doubt his method was most carefully selected so as to produce the best effect. *Ars est celare artem,* and the result was to impress us most of all with the artlessness of the effort. Accordingly Professor Goodrich's meeting was always popular, even with the undevout majority, who went to the service for what seemed like an exercise in the most highly trained logic set off with the most finished and graceful oratory.

He never preached in Chapel in my day; and this added to his power in his special province. He was the embodiment, in the Faculty, of the emotional element in religion, and took the lead in guiding the revival of 1858, the last great College awakening. As one who joined the College Church at that time, I can testify that little discrimination was shown in sifting the candidates for membership, and I fear that some who then professed a new hope afterwards renounced it.

In his earlier position in the College Faculty, Dr. Goodrich had the name of being specially entrusted with the management of difficult cases of discipline, and the administrator of a highly unpopular system of espial.

I have heard a graduate of that time relate a story which seems to indicate on his part slight power of recognition of faces. This was to the effect that a certain student who was a good speaker was always ready to declaim before the Professor in the place of his more indolent classmates, and would mount the stage day after day, impersonating one candidate after another.

Professor Denison Olmsted died in my Sophomore year, so that I never came under his instruction; but no one who had seen him could fail of a vivid recollection of his appearance.

He was slightly under middle height, but an abundant shock of stiff, iron-grey hair, brushed straight up from a high forehead, added inches enough to his stature to make him seem imposing, and his stately, old-fashioned urbanity increased the impression.

I remember him chiefly by his conduct of College prayers on one evening of each week, and by his occasional remarks in the Friday-evening prayer-meetings; and these appearances revealed a transparently self-complacent man, of simple, natural piety, with the courteous manners of a passing generation. In this last particular, as compared with Professor Silliman, Professor Olmsted showed a slight flavor of rusticity; but his unaffected goodness no one could

doubt. From these glimpses of him, I should be inclined to describe him also as probably credulous, a little vain, and superficial in scholarship.

The Hon. THOMAS B. OSBORNE was a Professor in the Law School, then in a seemingly moribund condition. His figure was a familiar one on the street, but I have no personal reminiscences of him. He looked the embodiment of comfortable moderation and grave decorum, but the expression of his face was so veiled by large opaque green goggles that there was little on which to frame a judgment.

The Hon. HENRY DUTTON gave a few lectures on the United States Constitution to our class as Kent Professor of Law in our Senior year, but my recollections of the matter are quite indistinct. He was also the head of the Law School, which had been allowed to decline, owning to the advancing age and other engagements of the two Professors. Of a tall, erect, spare figure, with smooth, homely face, and short, iron-grey hair, he gave a suggestion of wiry alertness and endurance in his prime, now weakened and softened under the burdens of age.

Professor WILLIAM A. LARNED held the chair of Rhetoric and English Literature from 1839 to 1862. My first contact with him was at his meeting our class in divisions as Freshmen, to lecture on English Composition and assign to us our first topics for that exercise. We met him individually in Sophomore year for criticism of the essays written in competition for prizes; and again in Junior year with regard to our orations for delivery at the Junior Exhibition. As Seniors we studied under him the Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown as an exercise in rhetoric, using as a text-book a privately-printed volume of notes prepared by himself; and met him also for the criticism of our Commencement orations. As long as evening prayers, just before supper, were continued (until the close of our Sophomore year), he took his turn in conducting them, and was generally an active and prominent figure in the small Faculty circle.

He had an abrupt, frosty manner, the awkwardness of which was probably due mainly to shyness and shortsightedness; but under an outward armor of stiffness and formality, I for one could discern clearly his essential kindliness and desire to be friendly. As a critic I found him personally helpful, though he was usually held to be a dry and uninspiring instructor. We used to laugh at the cut-and-dried phrases which recurred regularly in his Chapel prayers,—the only one which I now recall being his petition for "those who have come up hither to acquire useful knowledge,"—and to mimic a fancied pomposity of manner; but I do not doubt that he was at heart

a man of a genuinely simple and humble character, as much afraid of us as we ever were of him.

In the field of English literature he gave almost no instruction in my time, though previously he had occasionally given a few lectures on that subject; as, however, the work which he undertook must have occupied him fully, this omission should not be charged to neglect.

Though in earlier life a parish minister, he never preached in my day; but it is hardly likely that he can have been very successful in that vocation, owing to constitutional shyness.

His death, in 1862, was painfully tragic. Towards the end of a winter's day, while returning home in a snow-storm, from a visit of kindness in the outskirts of the city, he fell unconscious in an apoplectic fit. He was found by a policeman and removed to the station-house, on the supposition that he had been overcome by drink; and no attempt was made for hours by the officers in charge to learn his identity. He died before his wife, stricken with anxiety, had reached him.

Dr. Henry Bronson retired early from a Professorship in the Medical School; but I afterwards knew him in connection with a common interest in historical matters. He was not at this later time in active practice, and his gruff, downright manner must have prevented his ever being a favorite as a family physician; though he was thoroughly equipped in learning. He was a shrewd business man, and left a large property. His historical and biographical writing was of a high order, and he spared no pains to make it full and accurate. Personally I found him always kind and considerate, but it was evident that he had a strong will, and woe to him that crossed it. His prejudices were intense, and he appeared to be wholly unresponsive to what we call sentimental considerations. Rugged and stern as a New-England boulder in his exterior, the same qualities reappeared in the inner man.

His sketches of the former physicians of New Haven County abound both in information and entertainment.

My relations with President Porter were for many years so intimate and almost affectionate that I shrink from putting on paper any cool estimate of him. As an undergraduate I knew him as Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, and found him uniformly kind and helpful; the impression of his teaching often was that he failed of winning the highest success through seeming too tired or too bored to do himself full justice. To some extent this effect was an epitome of his whole impression on his generation.

Partly from the desire of increasing his resources, and partly from an intense enjoyment of mental exercise, he had early become fixed

in the habit of unstinted labor, with the result that by the time I knew him well he had always on hand so many more things waiting to be done than he could carry through to perfection, that he did few of them quite at his best.

That he was remarkably facile in turning off work goes almost without saying. None the less was he remarkable for the versatility of his mind and the fertility of resource with which he attacked each new set of circumstances that was presented to him.

As a friend he was ardently faithful. He delighted in the opportunities of counsel and of assistance which came to him in connection with his position as a teacher, and was unwearied in suggestion and encouragement. He may sometimes have been thought unduly biased in his devotion to the cause of those whose side he espoused in a controversy; if he erred in such cases, it was from a mistaken exaltation of the standard of loyalty to a friend in need.

As a public speaker he often did not do himself justice for the reason already given,—because he had always, as the vulgar phrase is, too many irons in the fire. For a considerable part of his presidency a vacancy in the College pastorate led to his preaching often and with little preparation, so that his sermons fell into a certain familiar strain, and were not as stimulating to his fickle audience as he might with more care have made them. He had one peculiar habit in aid of composition, which I never knew of in anyone else. He often went into the pulpit with a manuscript-case, which held only a few introductory sentences, followed by notes of the subsequent heads of his discourse, and he would go on fluently, using his notes and the otherwise blank pages as a help to extempore composition, while perhaps not one in a hundred in the audience would discover that he was not reading a written sermon.

President Porter was of medium height, with no superfluous flesh, and with a homely but attractive face and winning expression. He retained his bodily and mental vigor to a surprising degree, but relying too confidently on his youthfulness of feeling he continued in his office after a number of the influential graduates and friends of the College had begun to feel that the public interest required the succession of a younger man.

When he reluctantly laid down the presidential duties in 1886, in his 75th year, he had retained them to a greater age than any one of his predecessors, although no doubt to himself he seemed quite as capable as when ten years younger. I do not know what suggestion led to his resignation; but when the spur to effort was withdrawn, his powers speedily failed. There was something inexpressibly melancholy in the sudden relapse into old age; but this was no justification for the unfeeling manner in which he was treated as no longer a person of influence or consideration.

He still retained his professorship, and gave some graduate instruction for nearly six years, or up to the year of his death; but he soon grew unable to use a pen, and this with extreme feebleness of voice and other infirmities, made his old age a painful decline, and his release welcome to those who loved him. (d. mar 4 1892 (80y-

Professor WILLIAM A. NORTON, then the oldest professor in the Scientific School, was a familiar figure to my eyes for a quarter of a century, and for the last few years of his life I was his next-door neighbor, yet I only knew him in a somewhat superficial way. He was a close student, and something of a recluse, though affable and even cordial in casual intercourse.

In figure he was above middle height, with high, broad shoulders and an amiable expression. His short-sightedness increased the effect of the shyness which characterized his bearing.

His scientific attainments deserved respect, but his modesty prevented anything like parade. His influence was distinctly that of a devout Christain; while his happy wedded life, though not blessed with children, was idyllic in its perfection.

Professor JAMES D. DANA was perhaps forty-five years of age when I first saw him, but was already eminent, even to my untaught apprehension. He was in appearance as remarkable as he was in reality. Though not of commanding stature, in every other respect he was a most striking figure. His compact, wiry frame was instinct with life and vigor, and a glorious, buoyant energy seemed to radiate from every feature and every limb. As is well known, his intense, incessant mental activity wore out his physical strength and restricted his enjoyments in social and domestic life; but the elasticity of his tread and alertness of his look bore witness until late in life to the unconquerable strength of his will.

His first serious failure of health came in my Junior year, so that instead of our having him as a lecturer in Senior year, we had only some of his lecture-notes on Geology read to us by his brother-in-law, the younger Silliman.

In later years I knew Professor Dana well, in the Faculty meetings and in private intercourse, and no one could know him without genuine regard and admiration.

As a member of the Faculty he was conscientious in attendance on his duty, but not greatly interested in the petty details of business and rather impatient of the needless waste of time. In the grasp of principles he was a recognized leader; the expansion of the elective system in the College in 1876 was due to his inspiration.

Professor THOMAS A. THACHER was one of the examiners at my admission to College, and from that time to the day of his death (in 1886) I knew him with increasing intimacy of attachment. No

College officer during that period, and I am inclined to think no earlier officer here, commanded truer or deeper regard and affection. The service which he rendered in the College as a teacher of Latin was to some extent overshadowed by his usefulness in other ways; but he is eminently deserving of remembrance as a judicious and stimulating instructor.

He brought up a large family, and was hampered during much of his life by limited means and by indebtedness incurred for the assistance of a near relative, so that he was obliged to undertake various miscellaneous duties, which might add to his income. These avocations absorbed much of his time; but they brought him into wider contact with the students and the city, and gave him new opportunities of influence which he might use to advantage. The undergraduates felt that he sympathized with them more actively and fully than any of his associates, and the graduates looked to him as their closest and most direct bond of connection with the College.

He was of average height, with sturdy figure and square, determined face, the most striking features of which were his keen, blue eyes and bushy eyebrows. When at rest his face had an expression of sternness, from the firmly-set jaws; but in conversation it kindled into the most winning kindliness and sympathy.

Professor SILLIMAN, Junior, gave us in Senior year such instruction in chemistry as was thought necessary for an educated man, but neither the amount nor the character of the instruction gave much satisfaction. His verbose and flowery style as a lecturer perhaps caused a suggestion that his attainments were brilliant rather than solid.

My personal relations with him were most friendly, and in his home he was a charming host. Unfortunately an over-sanguine temperament exposed him to the abuse of his name and scientific reputation by unscrupulous promoters for their own ends.

JAMES HADLEY, professor of Greek, was the typical scholar among our instructors. He taught us during our first College term, and our dominant impression was that of an austere yet kindly man, of probably unapproachable heights and depths of learning, to whom our awkward flounderings furnished a species of mild amusement. His instruction was carefully graded down to our average capacity, and perhaps the better trained among us felt that his method was rather too evidently elementary; certainly there was scanty encouragement to any effort beyond the limits strictly prescribed. He was elaborately courteous and fair in his demeanor in the class-room, with possibly a suspicion of being bored alike by the forward and the dull.

His plain, irregular features were made attractive by his eyes, which were large and full of expression. I have rarely known so

homely a man whose face was so changed by the soul shining through it.

His mind was an extremely interesting one. He had in unusual degree the power of lucid and precise exposition; and I have never known anyone intimately who had an equal capacity for setting forth a limited amount of knowledge on a given subject in such a finished and satisfying form. I can recall definite instances, where I was cognizant of the sources of his information on a topic under discussion, and was startled at the way in which he handled his material, and without indulging in false or undue emphasis put in luminous order the meagre and scattered items with which he had been supplied.

We ranked him, I suppose, above anyone else in the Faculty as a natural genius; and he certainly was not deficient in that mark of genius which is the capacity for taking pains. He impressed us as most orderly and methodical, inflexibly just, and so impartial as to seem almost devoid of human interest; but later and closer intercourse with him revealed a very tender and kindly spirit, not at all the unsympathizing machine that I think we should at first have deemed him. I commend to all who remember him the remarkable sketch of his life contributed by his son to the Biographical Memoirs of the National Academy.

Professor WILLIAM D. WHITNEY taught in my Junior year an optional class in German which I attended; but I have to confess that through my own fault I learned but little. He could not have been as much interested in this elementary work as he would have been in teaching advanced students in his specialties of Sanskrit and Comparative Philoogy; and one fancied that he felt something akin to contempt of our shortcomings, which was not encouraging.

In later years I came to appreciate gratefully, at least in some degree, his remarkable gifts and his real friendliness; but I never outgrew a covert dread of his sarcasm and of his disgust at poor scholarship.

Professor GEORGE P. FISHER, whose death is more recent than that of any other of this group of associates, was the College pastor during my undergraduate life, and was then in the prime of his manly beauty; but the enthusiasm with which he had assumed in 1854 his arduous position was already chilled, and his resignation in 1861 to accept a chair in the Divinity School, though nominally on account of impaired health, was in reality a confession of disappointment and defeat, and I remember that when President Woolsey, at the inauguration of a successor in the pastorate, charged him not to abandon his post when tired of it, this was construed as a fling at Mr. Fisher (who was not present on the occasion) and was omitted in the published version of the President's remarks.

As a stated preacher Mr. Fisher showed the characteristics which those who knew his later and really eminent career as an historian and general scholar would expect. His sermons were always interesting to a cultivated taste and very far from commonplace; but his delivery diminished their effect, and there was always an impression that he was himself tired and disheartened and somewhat doubtful of the result.

We met him also in the class-room, where his teaching of Butler's Analogy showed him at his best, as a model in the art of lucid and distinct exposition. I think none of us saw anything of him personally, so that we did not see the side of his nature which was most familiar and most captivating to his associates in later life.

Professor HUBERT A. NEWTON carried in our day the heavy burden of instruction in Sophomore mathematics, and we could not be expected to appreciate the difficulties of his task; but I am sure that the majority did appreciate the earnestness of his efforts to overcome our lack of interest or of comprehension.

Mr. Newton was hampered by his own modesty and by a certain unpracticalness which is apt to embarrass the steps of a teacher so far in advance of his pupils; while at heart he was most anxious to be kind and considerate. Later I used to wonder how he ever accomplished anything in his study, as every caller found him apparently at perfect leisure, and it was apt to be difficult to finish one's business with him and to get release. We always, I think, imagined the range of his interests to be rather limited; I am now sure that in this respect we did him injustice.

DANIEL C. GILMAN as the Librarian met our class at the opening of Junior year, when by the law then in force we were for the first time allowed to draw books from the College Library, having previously been satisfied with the collections in general literature belonging to the two open societies, Linonia and the Brothers in Unity. He gave us a discursive and vivacious talk on the character of the collection and the way to use it to most advantage. I had long before begun to frequent the building as a casual reader, and already knew Mr. Gilman well. His cordiality and ready helpfulness influenced deeply, not merely my life for the years in College, but ever since.

He had then, as later, a special faculty for making other people exert themselves to do their best; but what then more impressed me was the multiform variety of his avocations and his unfailing readiness always to undertake a new one. As a librarian the office, with the very small income then available for books, did not appeal to him as having sufficient scope, and accordingly he did not take his duties with entire seriousness. He was, however, chagrined that

his hasty resignation in 1865 was taken in earnest by President Woolsey; and possibly also he was surprised that his claims for the Presidency were not considered in 1871; but it was fortunate for him and for the future of American education that Providence instead opened another door, leading to his distinguished success as President of the Johns Hopkins University from 1875 to 1901.

Fisk P. Brewer was the Senior Tutor in 1857, and instructed us in Greek during part of Freshman year. He came to us with the tradition of extreme unpopularity; but otherwise we should have accounted him merely a strict disciplinarian and a competent and careful teacher, with certain unpleasant peculiarities of voice and manner. If it had not been, therefore, for the reputation which he brought with him, we should not have disliked him actively; but it was the College fashion to decry him, and most of us stupidly fell in with it. Personally I respected him, and later had a high regard for him. He lacked, however, the wholesomeness and heartiness which were so charming in his younger brother, Mr. Justice Brewer.

Lebeus C. Chapin has the distinction of having retained a tutorship for eight or nine years, a longer period than any other person earlier or later for many generations; and when at length he unexpectedly offered his resignation during the brief winter vacation of 1863-4, there was reason for haste in accepting his offer, lest he might withdraw it, and in the emergency, as the most available man within reach, I was much to my own surprise elected his successor.

My earliest impressions of Tutor Chapin are connected with Sunday evening prayers. He was a candidate for orders in the Episcopal Church, and used the prayer-book in Chapel when officiating on Sunday evenings. The service on those evenings was by custom made specially attractive musically, and was apt to be attended by an unusually large number of townsfolk in the galleries; and when the novelty (for those days) of a churchman reading prayers in the Chapel pulpit was added there was everything to make variety. Mr. Chapin, however, was a dull reader, and did nothing to improve his opportunities.

In Junior year we studied Olmsted's Natural Philosophy under him, and conceived a poor impression of him, both as a scholar and a teacher. I think we wondered how he could have retained his place so long without more evident fitness for it.

In these notes I have not attempted to give any account of a few individuals who are still living, or of a number of others concerning whom I had no sufficient knowledge.

THE NEW HAVEN OF TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

[From the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Vol. VIII. Read December, 1913.]

Among the most substantial and worthy citizens of this town two hundred years ago, then known to everybody, but now as universally forgotten, was Capt. Francis Browne, a namesake of his grandfather, who was one of the seven original settlers at Quinnipiac in 1637, and who took up his permanent abode on East Water Street, facing the harbor. There Captain Browne was born in 1679, and died in 1741. Though an only surviving son (of Samuel and Mercy Tuttle Browne), he had a large family connection, which was expanded by his marriage into another still wider circle—his wife being a daughter of Judge John Alling. Francis Browne united with the New Haven church, probably in 1715, as his wife had done before her marriage. His piety was shown by his gift to the church of a silver tankard, which is still used in a modified form.

His oldest son was graduated at the college in 1728, and left numerous descendants; but the line of representatives of Francis and Hannah Browne, with which we are more familiar, trace their descent from the only daughter of the household, Mabel, who married Daniel Trowbridge, also a Yale graduate, and is the ancestress of the Trowbridge families who have been and are so prominent in this community.

Francis Browne, a skilled seaman, was commander and part owner of a sloop called the *Speedwell,* and for many years did a prosperous business by plying between New Haven and Boston, carrying from this port consignments of grain, pork, beef, tow cloth, and other products of the farm and of the loom, and bringing back their value in merchandise bought for his customers in Boston shops.

The day-book in which he kept the record of twenty-five such voyages, between 1707 and 1716, has been lately given to the University Library, and has suggested the present paper. His patrons included about two hundred men and women of prominence in New Haven and its suburbs (the present East Haven, West Haven, Woodbridge, North Haven and Hamden), with perhaps twenty of the leading inhabitants of Derby, and smaller numbers in Wallingford, Stamford, Stratford, Middletown, Woodbury and Killingworth. Occasionally the vessel had to be piloted up "Darby River,"

as the Housatonic was then also called, to take in freight, and quite regularly stops were made in New London and elsewhere on the route; once at least a detour was made to New York City. I note that the skipper always describes his course as down to Boston and up to New Haven.

I have mentioned the general nature of the articles exported from New Haven. Wheat and flour, Indian corn and rye were the usual crops, with a few oats; there were large amounts of pork and bacon, beef in much smaller quantities, and a good deal of spring butter; also occasional lots of peas and beans, but no other vegetables (the potato was still unknown here); honey, beeswax, and bayberry wax or tallow; hazel nuts, butternuts, and chestnuts; once or twice a basket of eggs, and equally rarely a bag of mustard seed and a bushel of oysters. The last, by the way, sold for a shilling, but we must remember that the prices of that date need to be nearly doubled to correspond to money values of our day. We do not know the sloop's tonnage, but the cargo on any voyage did not usually exceed more than 1,600 bushels of grain. I may add that in the later years the exports increased in variety, the first shipments being almost entirely of wheat and butter. Flax and wool were also furnished to a large extent, both in bulk and manufactured, with the coarser linen and worsted cloths, especially tow cloth, sail cloth, and shoe thread. Barrel and hogshead staves and lumber (in boards) were also occasional exports; but these were, after 1714, by order of the Colony government, subject to a special prohibitory duty. Another large item which New Haven contributed consisted of furs, specified in detail as wolf, bear, fox, raccoon, mink, otter, marten, beaver, and cat, that is wild-cat, skins.

A study of the names of Captain Browne's consignors is a good introduction to the figures prominent in New Haven life two hundred years ago.

I have spoken of the captain and his large circle of kindred. Among these the most important was his father-in-law, John Alling, who had conspicuously served the public for many years as deputy in the General Assembly, one of the governor's council, and judge of the probate and county courts, and held for fifteen years the office of treasurer of the Collegiate School in Saybrook. He was originally a blacksmith, and lived, I think, on Church Street, near the site of the Bijou Theater. As recorder of the town for over twenty years, his bold, regular handwriting is a joy to all who consult the records for that period.

Captain Browne's list of "Father Alling's" commissions includes many items significant of the simple scale of living demanded here at that date for an elderly official personage, of solid financial

standing. He buys, for instance, in 1707, a silver spoon, costing 13/3, the next year a pair of silver shoe buckles, and later pays for mending a silver chain—doubtless for his wife; other single purchases are a silk handkerchief, a quire of paper, a small Bible, an ivory comb, and in 1713, in striking contrast to all his other purchases, one real luxury, a brass kettle, costing £3.13.9.

The various sons and daughter of his family were also frequent patrons of the *Speedwell*. I need not exemplify further than how "Sister Whitehead" orders a black gauze fan on one voyage, and on another a small pair of shears and a jack knife, or a silk gauze handkerchief, or a pound of whalebone (unusual extreme of fashion), or 500 pins; how "Sister Susanna," an ancestress of the present White brothers, invests in a pair of shoe buckles or a pair of gloves; and "Sister Sarah Alling," afterwards Mrs. Mansfield, when a young woman of twenty-two, sends on four pounds and a half of beeswax and a couple of bushels of hazelnuts, from which she gets a pound in silver for pocket money, a fragment of which is invested six months later in one wine glass. To the captain's credit be it said that in the case of his numerous relations and relations-in-law, as well as in the case of other specially favored or respected friends, like his pastor, his custom of charging freight on the goods sent from here and a commission on purchases was generally intermitted. In ordinary cases his commission varied, but was usually, I think, about five per cent.

It was the natural result of the Alling connection that Captain Browne was sometimes employed to purchase supplies for the Collegiate School, which later became Yale College, and of which, as has been said, Judge Alling was the treasurer, while the New Haven minister was the most influential member of its board of trustees; and so these records help us to a few hints of the requirements of that feeble community on Saybrook Point, numbering perhaps from a dozen to twenty members, and devoted to plain living, if not also to high thinking. It may be significant of popular usage that Captain Browne's entries sometimes call the institution "the college," instead of by its strict title, "the Collegiate School."

On the first voyage of the *Speedwell* of which we have record, in the spring of 1707, just after Rector Pierson's death, the sloop took on at New Haven, on account of the Collegiate School, fifty bushels of wheat and about half as much rye, the value of which was mainly returned to Treasurer Alling in cash, the sole item of merchandise being a couple of casks of green, that is, not fully matured wine, costing about four pounds. In the fall another quarter-cask of green wine was needed, and at the same time twenty yards of material for a set of curtains (bed curtains, I suppose), with a set

of brass drops or rings, a pewter basin, a pound of alum, a pound of nutmegs, and seventeen yards of silk crape. The last item, which might to the uninitiated imply a new dress for the housekeeper, was doubtless meant for gowns for the two resident tutors.

In the following spring the amount remitted went (*horresco referens*) for a hogshead of rum, costing £12.16.6. On the next voyage the proceeds of 180 bushels of corn and fifteen bushels of rye were mainly paid in cash to Mr. John Dixwell of Boston, doubtless in settlement of accounts which he had contracted for the school; other trifling purchases for use in the modest establishment at Saybrook were two and one-quarter yards of blue calico,—the first recorded instance of the traditional Yale color,—a hair sieve, a brass skillet, a steel candlestick, and an ounce of lace thread. Business for the school on later voyages consisted mainly in providing by the sale of grain for payments to other agents in Boston besides Dixwell.

But Captain Browne had higher patronage still; the colony government itself appears on one occasion in his accounts. This was in September, 1711, just after Governor Saltonstall and his council, of whom John Alling was one, in session in New Haven, had taken part in equipping a futile expedition under Admiral Walker against Quebec; and a couple of barrels of poor beef, presumably the refuse of the outfit, were entrusted to the skipper of the *Speedwell* for the Boston market; the proceeds, £2.14, were invested on the colony account in "hats," if I read aright the blurred entry.

The first citizen of New Haven in this decade was the Rev. James Pierpont, an ancestor of our friend and secretary, Mr. Blake, and our vice-president, Mr. Whitney, of Presidents Woolsey and Dwight, of Aaron Burr and Pierpont Morgan, and countless other notable persons, the pastor of the only church in town (until that in East Haven was gathered in 1711), whose life closed in 1714 in the parsonage on the public library lot on Elm Street. His refined and gentle countenance is familiar to us in the only portrait which is preserved of any Connecticut minister of that generation. He was a liberal patron of Captain Browne's facilities for trade, and it may be of interest to note some of the household supplies which he was prompted to import. In 1707, at a cost of £1.3.10, he acquired two pounds of white sugar, two of raisins, two wine glasses, a pound of allspice, a piece of tape, an ounce of treacle (doubtless for medicinal use), one of mithridate (a panacea for all ailments), a little saffron, half an ounce of mace, a yard and a half of ribbon, and 1,000 pins. In 1708 the good minister laid in a barrel of green wine, a tobacco box, and a dozen pipes, which last supply was so nearly exhausted seven months later, that another dozen had to be ordered. In 1711,

a horn book was purchased, for thrip-pence, from which no doubt his youngest daughter, then fifteen months old, who became the wife of Jonathan Edwards, was destined to learn her letters. In 1712 four gallons of rum were added to the parson's store-room. In 1713 two looking glasses were among his acquisitions; also three boys' hats of felt, for his three eldest sons, aged from 14 to 9; also "12 Sarmons," copies I suppose of that sermon which he had preached in Boston during a notable sojourn there in 1711, when his portrait was painted, and which had been printed under Cotton Mather's direction. The most expensive items among his purchases (besides the wine) were materials for clothes; twice, it would appear, within six brief years, he had new broadcloth suits, and twice a new preacher's gown of silk crape; while Mrs. Pierpont and her children were equally amply provided for.

The families of Mr. Pierpont's predecessors are also represented in these lists, by the venerable widow of John Davenport's only son (a sister of Rector Pierson), and her children; and by Samuel and Nicholas Street, grandsons of the second New Haven pastor. The elder of these brothers, both active business men in Wallingford, was the progenitor of many well-known New Haven citizens, among them Abraham Bishop, Augustus R. Street, and of the living Mr. Justus Street Hotchkiss.

Of Governor Eaton, the civil leader of the colony, the one descendant whose name I am sure of in this record is his granddaughter, the widow Sarah Morrison, who in 1707 invested the proceeds of three pounds of old pewter in a couple of wine-glasses, a beaker (or goblet), and a pint of wine. Of the Yale family, who were a part of the Eaton household, and who otherwise deserve special notice, the only representative on these pages is Nathaniel Yale of North Haven, a first cousin of Elihu Yale, and a Deputy to the General Assembly. There are also grandchildren of Deputy Governor Goodyear and of Deputy Governor Gilbert.

A step below the chief magistracy and the ministry in dignity were the deacons of the church; and Abraham Bradley and John Punderson, then in office, are of this company. There is nothing special about their commissions, except that Deacon Punderson, living on the south side of Chapel Street, on York, seems to have been more than usually inclined to lay in a good stock of wine; Deacon Bradley was also prominent in civil life as for years one of the deputies to the General Court.

It is fair, perhaps, to name with these, four others who subsequently attained the rank of deacon,—Isaac Dickerman, John Punderson, Junior, John Munson, and Jonathan Mansfield. Two of these, Deacons Punderson and Mansfield, married sisters of Mrs.

Browne, and availed themselves pretty constantly of Captain Browne's services. "Brother Punderson," by trade a cooper, occasionally barters hogshead staves for articles of merchandise; he was also a small store-keeper, importing jackknives and inkhorns and ivory combs and alchemy spoons by the dozen, and molasses by the hundred gallons. Alchemy spoons, it may be noted, were the customary inexpensive substitutes for silver spoons, of baser metallic composition, imitating gold in color. "Brother Mansfield," who lived on the site of the new county court house, was an ancestor of the most of the bearers of that name among us, and it may emphasize for us his environment to find on his record of purchases in 1708 an account book and a sermon book, that is, a volume of sermons, and to trace at the same date some employment of his, under his father-in-law, Treasurer Alling, in the conduct of the money matters of the Collegiate School.

The next minister ordained within the ancient limits of the town after Mr. Pierpont, was Jacob Hemingway, whose nearly seven years of informal pastoral employment in his native village at the iron works, or East Haven, were followed by his ordination there in October, 1711. His need for Captain Browne's agency first appears in 1709, when he equips himself with material for a black broadcloth coat and with an expensive castor hat, presumably made of rabbit's fur, and costing one pound; besides other scattered purchases, in 1711 he orders a thousand eight-penny nails, implying perhaps that he was engaged in enlarging or repairing the parsonage, preparatory to his marriage.

The other learned professions were more slowly recruited. In 1708 for the first time regulations were framed by the General Assembly for the admission of attorneys to the bar, and the first person thus admitted, for this county, in the following October, was Jeremiah Osborne, already for years a deputy to the General Court, and a justice of the peace and quorum. As his wife was an aunt of Mrs. Browne, he naturally made use of Browne's agency. Among his errands were the purchase of a pair of silver buckles and clasps in 1707, and of eight metal (probably brass) buttons and a tankard in 1708. I regret to say that our only lawyer died insolvent in 1713, and that he had no successor during the period of our survey.

So far as we know there was in these years no regular practitioner of medicine in New Haven except Warham Mather, who would in any case deserve mention here as a leading citizen. A Harvard graduate, and first cousin of Cotton Mather, he had served for some twenty years as a preacher in various localities, before settling in New Haven about 1705. Here he held honorable rank as a justice of the peace and quorum, and eventually succeeded John Alling as

judge of the probate court. Like many of the bright intellects of that day, he had added the study of medicine to his clerical training, for on the rude map of New Haven in 1724 his name, "W. Mather, Physician" is affixed to the old Davenport house, on the site of the Presbyterian church on Elm Street, which he occupied as the inheritance of his wife, a daughter of John Davenport, Jr. He sends by Captain Browne continually for physic, and for drugs from the apothecary's, to large amounts. Moreover, in 1711 he is credited, besides his wheat and rye and money, with three shillings, eight pence, for "physics at home," which means clearly that Captain Browne had employed him, to some extent at least, as his family physician and was thus paying a debt. The remaining incident of note in Mr. Mather's accounts in Captain Browne's day-book is that in 1710 he indulged in ordering a knife and fork. Now knives were a necessity, but forks came into use in New England very slowly, after 1700, and there is but one other mention of them in these records. Judge Mather's name is memorable also on account of the inventory of his estate in our probate records, with a list of his theological library, mainly inherited from distinguished relatives, and of unparalleled length and minuteness. I may add that it is not a mere coincidence that the physician next preceding Mather in New Haven, Nathaniel Wade, a native of Massachusetts, was the husband of another of John Davenport's granddaughters, a sister of Mrs. Mather and of a former wife of Mr. Pierpont. Mrs. Mather, I presume, after Wade had left, about 1700, took her sister's place in the care of the aged Madam Davenport, and Mather, perhaps as a makeshift, succeeded to the abandoned medical practice of Dr. Wade.

Next to these professional men should be counted the rector of the Hopkins Grammar School, who was for all this period Samuel Cooke, a college graduate, who married a New Haven girl, Anne Trowbridge, in 1708, and was ordained over the Stratfield, now Bridgeport, church in 1716. His youthful promise gained for him for several of these years election as a deputy to the General Assembly. His purchases through Captain Browne seem to have been mainly for his wife's wardrobe, and were probably paid for with her money, not from the meager stipend of the rector.

One of his classmates whose name is also here is the Rev. Samuel Whittelsey, pastor in Wallingford and father of a future pastor of New Haven. He was ordained in 1710, and in 1711 sent to Boston for the items needed for a country parsonage—among them camlet for a suit of clothes and a pair of worsted stockings for himself; Scotch cloth (a thin dress stuff) and a mourning veil for his mother,

he being still a bachelor; a pair of money scales; and (a unique order) six wash-balls, equivalent, I take it, to our cakes of soap.

With these graduates may be mentioned also the Rev. Joseph Moss, jr., a Harvard bachelor and Yale master of arts, a native of New Haven and first cousin of Mrs. Browne, who became the minister of Derby in 1707. We trace his progress in these pages by his purchase of 6,000 eight-penny nails in June, 1707, probably for house repairs or enlargement; and marvel at his temperance in ordering a single pint of wine therewith for refreshment. A year later he is able to afford the customary broadcloth coat and crape gown of his vocation. In 1710 he buys a large Bible, and an expensive record book, a barrel of gunpowder, 200 pounds of shot, and half a grindstone—the other half being credited to a parishioner. In 1711 we detect his growing prosperity by his indulgence in a brass kettle costing £5.3 and twenty-four glass bottles, at six pence each, a glass inkhorn (an unusual luxury), and a trunk with drawers; and by 1712 he rises to the extravagance of six gallons of madeira. Twice during these years he buys a book, his selections being Henry Care's "English Liberties," a digest of documents with ample commentary, and a small book called "The Clerk's Guide," both volumes useful in his capacity as town clerk and general public counsellor.

A few other prominent citizens, besides those already specified, had served, or were serving during these years, as deputies to the General Assembly. Of these one of the oldest was Capt. John Bassett, among whose significant purchases are a rapier in 1710, two gold rings in 1711, two more in 1712, and a valuable pair of silver shoe buckles in 1713. Another long-time deputy was Col. Joseph Whiting, of Hartford birth, whose name still lives in Whiting Street, which marks at its entrance into State the site of his former dwelling. It must have been a house abounding in hospitality, as the owner's first recorded payment to Captain Browne was for six dozen wine glasses, at six shillings apiece. Jared Ingersoll, the stamp agent, married one of his daughters, and the Rev. Chauncey Whittelsey of the First church a second. Another of these ancient office-bearers was the Joseph Moss whose wife was an aunt of Mrs. Browne.

Perhaps also I should mention in this connection two of the East Haven patrons of Captain Browne, Thomas Goodsell and John Russell, who had been sent by their neighbors to the General Assembly after East Haven was granted village and church privileges, but who had no right to the representative function, and on the remonstrance of the mother town were debarred from further service, as East Haven was not then legally a separate body politic.

Among other leading citizens of somewhat ample means, and of the leisured though not the professional class, was John Hodson, or Hudson, who died in 1711, in his forty-fifth year. Young though he was, he appears in Captain Browne's record as acquiring a peri-wig, which cost him fifteen shillings, the year before his death. His house, I think, was on the west side of State Street, between Chapel and Crown. Another leading citizen who had dealings with Captain Browne, though partly retired by age, was John Prout, a sea captain, of English birth, who lived on State Street, opposite Water Street, where his name is preserved in the narrow crooked alley called Prout Street. His only son was a graduate of the Collegiate School in 1708. Still another of the wealthier magnates of that generation was Mr. Thomas Trowbridge, third of that name, with his domicile on Meadow Street to the north of the armory. The house is still standing, in the rear of other buildings, greatly changed, and with a mistaken legend on its front, implying that it dates from 1642 (instead of 1684). With this exception no house of 200 years ago is now, or has been for many years, extant.

Another marked group with claims to distinction may be found among the "honorable women . . . not a few," who made more or less regular purchases through Captain Browne.

There were, for instance, Mrs. Dixwell, the venerable relict of the regicide, on the garden of whose home lot this building stands, and who lies buried in the city Green; the widow, Elizabeth Gaskell, a great-aunt of Roger Sherman; Mrs. Elizabeth Maltby, by a later marriage mother of Judge Abraham Davenport, the hero of the "Dark Day"; and Mrs. Lydia Rosewell, the wealthy widow of John Alling's predecessor as treasurer of the Collegiate School, whose mansion occupied the northwest corner of Meadow and Water Streets, and one of whose daughters became in later years Captain Browne's second wife. Among Mrs. Rosewell's descendants was a former active member of this society, Hon. Lynde Harrison.

On the earliest extant map of New Haven, that of 1724, while the occupations of many householders are given, only one person is described as a "merchant"; and probably at the time of which I am speaking there were very few general stores in the town, though I realize that Captain Browne's recorded transactions give us only a partial view of the situation. As far as his pages show, the largest dealer was Jonathan Atwater, an ancestor of the late Wilbur F. Day and the late E. Hayes Trowbridge, who lived on the west side of College Street, north of Crown, and whose transactions with Boston as here shown were of far larger volume than those of any other citizen. He seems, also, to have been part owner of the sloop; and

I surmise that this relation may have led both Browne and Atwater to some extent into general trading as a profitable pursuit. At any rate we find Jonathan Atwater debited with numerous entries such as these, which could hardly have been meant on the scale of living of that day for the consumption of his own household: in 1708, three dozen jackknives, two dozen thorn-hafted knives, three dozen combs, and 600 gallons of rum; in 1711, 60,000 nails, 15 scythes, two dozen large scissors, 300 flints, six pounds of pepper, and a dozen primers; and in 1713, three dozen more primers, at threepence apiece, and 1,000 pounds of sugar. As an example of his mode of payment, he is credited on the voyage of these last purchases with bulky items like 42 barrels of pork, which sold for £157, and over 400 pounds of bread, bringing about £5. There is also evidence in their accounts that Jonathan Atwater's nephew, Joshua Atwater, an ancestor of many of the Hotchkiss and Townsend families of the present day, and Samuel Smith of West Haven were part owners of the *Speedwell;* the former seems also to have been one of the ship's crew on some voyages.

Besides Jonathan Atwater and Captain Browne himself these pages intimate that Richard Hall also, who lived (I think) on State Street, opposite George, did some business as a general trader. How else can be explained such wholesale exports from Boston as a dozen jackknives at a time, repeatedly, half a dozen hour-glasses, half a dozen catechisms, half a dozen pounds of alum, and half a dozen bottles of elixir?

There were also one or two merchants in Derby who were frequent customers. John Weed, for example, imported all kinds of needles and pins by the hundred and the thousand, basins and porringers by the dozen, and other goods in like proportion.

One index of the standing of our colonists is seen in the friendships which these entries reveal with Boston people. In a large number of accounts, for instance, there is evidence of the most intimate friendly and business connections with John Dixwell, jr., the only son of the New Haven regicide, and a leading gold and silversmith. Again we find repeated proofs of familiar relations with Mrs. Sarah Knight, the lively school mistress, to whose pen we owe a well-known record of travel from her home in Boston to New York in 1704. In 1713 Captain Browne delivered to her, free of charge, a barrel of pork and two bushels of wheat, as a present from Mrs. Gaskell, a Massachusetts woman by birth, who sent also on the same occasion similar gifts to other friends, in one case including a basket of eggs. And similarly Madam Hannah Trowbridge, the widow of Thomas the second, sends the same Madam Knight in 1707 a bag of shoe thread and a couple of bushels of wheat.

A long list might be made of Boston merchants of old familiar names, headed by the Huguenot, "Andrew Funnell," uncle of the munificent donor of Faneuil market, with whom the New Haven planters were in constant intercourse.

One special class of commercial correspondents of Captain Browne should be noticed, though I am not entirely able to explain their standing. I refer to Boston merchants, who were certainly never resident here, but who appear to have had considerable dealings by this channel with the New Haven market. Thus, Andrew Belcher, a wealthy provincial councilor of Massachusetts, father of a future royal governor, was one of Browne's chief customers, exporting from here very large quantities of the regular staples, for which he received part pay in money and part in such common necessities or luxuries as green wine, rum, molasses, salt, and powder and shot, which he sent back to New Haven. Among these ventures of his for sale here there is but one of a unique sort, that of 2,000 shingles, or shindels, as the name was then. Details are, however, wanting as to the agency through which these staples were gathered for him and others like him for transmission to Boston, and through which the realized proceeds were distributed here.

Mention has been incidentally made of many importations which New Haven households owed to Captain Browne's enterprise, but it may be of interest thus to trace something of the progress of comfort and comparative luxury in such a community.

The ordinary table supplies which were not the products of the native fields and gardens and stockyards formed a major part of each cargo, being chiefly sugar, molasses, salt, and various kinds of spices and liquors; the wines were sometimes direct imports from Fayal, on which Captain Browne paid the freight and the duties. Of what might be called luxuries of diet I recall only salad oil, salt mackerel, figs, raisins, and currants. (Tea and coffee, it should be remembered, were not then known here.) Tobacco was indulged in to a moderate extent, as repeated items of tobacco pipes, boxes, and tongs testify; an occasional entry such as "fifty canes" refers, I suppose, to this usage, the weed being supplied in slender sticks or canes.

Utensils and requirements for the household, the farm, and the sailing vessel formed another bulky item. Among the things most frequently necessary, which craftsmen of the neighborhood could not furnish, were iron and steel bars, powder and shot, oakum, tar, nails, knives of all sorts, scissors, razors, sheep-shears, scythes, grindstones and rubstones (the equivalent of whetstones), fishhooks, pots and kettles, pans and basins, platters and dishes of pewter and

earthenware, and implements for weaving and for navigation. Glass and lead, evidently for windows, are mentioned but once.

Every householder with pretensions to comfortable living had to supply himself from outside with warming pans for his beds, and with pewter platters and mugs and one or two wine glasses for his table; pewter instead of wooden plates and tankards were almost equally necessary, and alchemy spoons of unhealthy brass or copper alloy, while one or two glass tumblers and one or two silver spoons marked a slightly higher style of living. Once or twice a silver cup is ordered through Captain Browne, but the richer citizens preferred probably to deal directly with Mr. Dixwell and others of his trade, rather than trust another's selection. The most expensive single household utensil was the big brass kettle, the height apparently of universal ambition.

Ordinary benches, stools, beds and tables were put together by the village joiners, but occasionally half a dozen chairs would be imported; also the more elaborate needs in heating and cooking apparatus, as tongs, shovels, bellows, and chafing dishes.

Rugs are scantily mentioned, and carpets unknown. I note, however, in the town records for 1715 that the term "carpet" is affixed as a marginal reading to the entry of the generosity of Jonathan Atwater in "freely offering to the town a cloth to be serviceable at funerals," presumably as a pall, though called a carpet. Clocks and watches do not appear, but hour and half-hour glasses are in frequent demand. Looking glasses are also regular articles of commerce. Lanterns and candlesticks had constantly to be got, and occasionally a tin lamp; the former were mainly equipped with candles of home manufacture, though "white amber," that is spermaceti, and whale oil and blubber were also imported, the latter not so much for lamplight as for use in curing leather, one of the infant industries of the town.

These pages instruct us also in the dress of the clients for whom Captain Browne bargained. New Haven, to be sure, had its tailors and dressmakers, but they carried no stock of material, and a large vocabulary of fabrics then in vogue might be compiled from these entries. Sailcloth, bed-ticking and bunting had, of course, other uses, and linsey-woolsey, though also for clothing, appears mainly in demand for bed-curtains.

For coarse, heavy clothes there were stuff, frieze, fustian, buckram, drugget, cantaloon, twist, serge, sagathy and kersey; and finer grades in broadcloth, camlet, calamanco, russel, and tammy. The most coveted manufactures of fine linen were cambric, garlits, holland, and kenting, and of the coarser linens, dowlas and osna-

burgs. Besides these were calicos and muslins, Scotch cloth (a cheap sort of lawn), and shalloon for linings. Of silks there were the heavier and coarser grograms and poplins, ordinary black silk for gowns, the glossy lutestring, the thin light alamode (the favorite summer wear), crape for mourning and for the clergy, and damask and plush for persons of extra style. The luxuriance allowed in men's dress appears in the item of buttons, which were regularly ordered with the material for coats and waistcoats at the rate of three or four dozen for each garment.

Hats for men and boys, of felt, beaver and castor were called for in great numbers. What were brought for women's headgear I do not so clearly make out, except "silk caps," which were doubtless hoods. In one case only, a hairbrush was ordered. Gloves of all sorts, sometimes of wash-leather, were frequent articles of commerce, occasionally also "half-handed gloves" or mitts, and mittens. The "worsted stockings" which often appear as purchased in Boston were not I suppose knitted, for those could be had at home, but sewn together of cloth. Handkerchiefs were among the commonest articles of merchandise, especially of silk, and of the inferior or cotton material known as romal. In one case Captain Browne charges himself with three neckcloths. Shoes were commonly well enough made by local cobblers, but a few of better style were imported, and one constant item was women's wooden heels. It was the decree of fashion that high heels be worn, and the wooden constructions in the Boston market were so cheap as to be attractive, but wore out so fast that they had to be ordered by the dozen, or even by the half-dozen dozen.

A pair of spectacles was quite often needed, and Captain Browne could be trusted to suit the eyes of each customer; occasionally a cane, or a sword and belt, or a periwig was also left to his judgment.

Of personal ornaments and embellishments of apparel but few appear. Gold rings are two or three times purchased; silver shoe-buckles and clasps with considerable frequency, and more rarely silver chains, shirt buttons, lockets (or lockers), and even whistles are mentioned. Strings of beads often appear; and coral is in some way, I do not quite understand why, a very popular acquisition. Silver thimbles are occasionally mentioned, but cheaper thimbles, not especially described, were probably of brass. Fans, often specified as of gauze, ivory, cane, or leather, were favorite demands of Captain Browne's female patrons.

A good deal of his time must have been spent in waiting on the apothecary, for a remarkable assortment of drugs and physic appears in his ledger. Among the commonest remedies the following, at

least, should be included—saffron, spirit of hartshorn, aniseed, licorice, rhubarb, linseed oil, blistering salve, treacle, mithridate, alum, brimstone, jalap, salammoniac, senna, diapalm (a favorite plaster), cochee pills, and spirits of turpentine. The formidable enumeration might be much lengthened, but this is enough to provoke a reminiscence of the atrocious couplet in Hudibras decrying those

"Stored with deletery med'cines
Which whosoever took is dead since."

Any light on the attitude of New Haven people towards books and learning two hundred years ago is of interest; but very little is to be gathered from this source. Browne himself, though he sent one son to college, was not a devotee of literature. In the list of purchases for his own use are several Bibles and for the use of his children hornbooks and primers; and finally in 1716, when his oldest child was in his eleventh year, he buys "A Accidence," which perhaps marks the first steps of this boy in his college training.

The *Speedwell* in these voyages brought to this port some forty copies of the Bible to as many private families—several copies containing also the metrical version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins with music, besides copies of this version separately. More than half a dozen times too, there is record of Bibles sent back by Captain Browne to Boston for rebinding. Bibles of all sizes are described, from one great Bible, probably designed for pulpit use; and Captain Browne once imports for his own use a "painted Bible," which may mean one with colored plates. Hornbooks and primers are ordered many times; an arithmetic more than once; and once what is summarily described as a "military book." Other literary ventures for New Haven and vicinity include a copy of that staunch Presbyterian, John Flavel's "Husbandry Spiritualized," bought in 1711 for Jacob Johnson of Wallingford, an ancestor of the late Hon. Frederick J. Kingsbury; "The Mariner's Compass," a manual of navigation, ordered by Moses Mansfield, himself a veteran sailor, in 1713; a curious, not very high-toned miscellany, called "Wit's Cabinet, a Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies," affording instruction in the interpretation of dreams, in palmistry, and the concoction of cosmetics, together with a collection of songs—consigned in 1708 to John Beach of Wallingford. In the same year Stephen Munson, a learned blacksmith for his day, who lived on the northwest corner of Grove and State Streets, and is said to have been an ancestor of Thurlow Weed, became the owner of an edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress" and of a compilation called "The Experienced Secretary," besides a "Psalm Book."

His older brother, Theophilus Munson, a gunsmith and locksmith of College Street, near the south end of Woolsey Hall, in 1711 with astonishing foresight bought a Latin dictionary for seventeen shillings—though his son Daniel, who was graduated from Yale in 1726, was then only two years old and can scarcely have been expected to begin his classical training at that age or through that vehicle. But however this may have been, when Samuel Mix, who lived on the Battell Chapel site, is credited in the same year with "3 Latin books," we may feel sure that they were destined for the use of his oldest son, a boy of eleven, who was graduated nine years later.

I said just now that our captain was not a devotee of literature; and a fortunate result of this is that he used in his accounts a system of phonetic spelling, so complete that we can almost universally tell just how he pronounced the names of every person and thing that he dealt with. In general his practice leans toward economy, as for instance in reducing Goodyear to five letters, Gudyr, and Cooke to three, Cuk, and checkered (describing a lining) to six, chekrd.

Of course in most cases the result is altogether natural. We find thus that Derby was to Captain Browne Darby, just as the cis-Atlantic namesake of the English Hertford had already become Hartford; and just as he wrote sarmons for sermons, and sarge for serge, so to him Sherman was usually Sharman. But the unexpected thing is that he persists in this particular vowel-change in unaccented syllables in his common vocabulary to a remarkable extent; I content myself with only an example or two of what is a constant practice; thus Mather is written Mathar, primer, primar, and even father, brother and sister, fathar, brothar and sistar. Similar changes with other vowels are shown in Thorp always becoming Tharp, and the Christian name Dorcas becoming Darkis. The converse of this change in traceable in the name of a family, of the nieces and nephew of Mr. Pierpont, who came hither from Boston early in the 18th century, the Haywards, as we should call them, but always known then as Ha(r)wards, and later, after the *y* had been discarded in the spelling, Howards.

Other vagaries in the pronunciation of family names are such as Balding for Baldwin, Hodson for Hudson, Person for Pierson (as Perse in our own day for Pierce), Belshar for Belcher, Punshard for Punchard, Stodder for Stoddard, and Orsburn for Osborn.

Other common words which appear in Captain Browne's manuscript with the mispronunciations which we now think vulgar, such as hankercher or handkechif, ornery, leftenant, jiner for joiner, and Giney for Jenny, need not detain us; nor need reasons for raisins, which was still considered proper, I believe, within living memory.

On the other hand, in the only reference on these pages to the institution of domestic slavery, a record of money paid to the negro of the Rev. Joseph Moss, the spelling is faithful to the correct sound.

This incidental mention of slavery calls up the sole reference in these pages to another of the ordinary social conditions of life, in the expenditure of upward of £16 on securing and bringing from Boston in 1713, a "Jarsey boy" to be apprenticed to Samuel Riggs, a wealthy merchant of Derby.

In a desultory way I have thus attempted to make a prosaic account book tell something of our predecessors of 200 years ago, and their way of living, but I have left myself little space, even if I had the power, to construct a satisfactory picture of the plantation as a whole. We must remember primarily that the settled part of the town extended only from York and Grove Streets to the water; and that the whole region between York and Church was comparatively sparsely peopled, since the business center was on the waterside and its tributary streets, especially State Street. The plantation had still so much the character of a village that the streets had no distinctive names, but each one is likely to be described in deeds and wills of the period as "the town street."

The central green was the common rendezvous, where the townsmen drilled for military service, where the entire community gathered in one house for worship, and where in the same house the General Assembly of the Colony and the County Court held their regular sessions, as we may all learn fully from Mr. Blake's delightful book.

The inhabitants formed a simple, homogeneous society, with few distinctions and few pleasures. Captain Browne observes carefully in his record the usual early gradations of dignity. Military officers are punctiliously mentioned by title, and the designation of "Mr.," which was at an earlier period so sparingly used, is apparently still limited to persons of special civil and family desert. The corresponding term "Mistress" is reserved for married women—an inferior social standing being indicated in only two cases by the term "Goody"; single women are mentioned without title.

The population of the compact portion of the town I find it hard to estimate; but I doubt if it was much over 700. In 1707, when these accounts begin, just seventy years had passed since the advance guard of the first settlers had arrived here; and their generation had already disappeared, the last male survivor, as I suppose, being Deacon William Peck, who died in 1694; but his widow lived on until 1717, and the widow of Matthew Gilbert, one of the original seven pillars of the church, lived until 1706.

In 1715, just before the termination of Captain Browne's record, Joseph Noyes of Stonington was called to succeed Mr. Pierpont as the minister of the town; and this decided the removal of the college to New Haven. Rival towns were contending for it, and when young Noyes accepted the call here, this threw the weight of the influence of his father and uncle, two of the most influential trustees, into the scale in favor of New Haven. The definite settlement of the college here in October, 1716, created a new local center of activity, with immediate and permanent changes in the vicinity of the college buildings, all of which resulted in the development of a different life in the town, with intellectual interests and aspirations before unknown.

In the New Haven of our story, before it was spoiled or improved, whichever you choose to consider it, by the introduction of the college, intercourse with the outside world was maintained by post as well as by water. A post-boy rode regularly between New York and Boston, and vessels like the *Speedwell* were not permitted to carry letters except for delivery in port directly to the postmaster. Some half dozen times in Captain Browne's day-book we find charges to customers for postal dues which he has paid, usually for a single letter, varying from six pence to a shilling, and in one case, that of the Rev. Mr. Moss of Derby, he settles an account amounting to £1.4.6.

By water there was important commerce with the West Indies, besides doubtless other common carriers than our friend, Captain Browne; but it may be that no record as complete as his is still extant; and until one is made public, and annotated by some future and more skilful investigator, I venture to hope that these scattered notes may serve to illustrate our early domestic commerce, as well as to revive the memory of one of its worthiest promoters.

NOTES OF SOME OF THE NEW HAVEN LOYALISTS, INCLUDING THOSE GRADUATED AT YALE.

[From the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Vol. IX. Read January, 1915.]

A good many years ago, while spending a summer in London, I was interested in turning over, in the Government Record Office, the manuscript reports of the Commissioners appointed in 1783 to review the applications made by the American Loyalist refugees for compensation for losses which they had suffered. At that time I made notes of the testimony in cases of special interest; and some of these notes have formed the basis of the present paper. I should mention, however, that more recently a full transcript of all these records has been secured for the New York Public Library, in New York City; and as this transcript can be freely consulted by any one, with very slight trouble, my notes have no longer even the modest value which I may have once attached to them.

Any sketch, however slight, or superficial, of the sentiment in Connecticut at the time of the Revolution must be based primarily upon our historical development. Under the self-government provided by the comparatively liberal charter of 1662, this Colony had been, generally speaking, quiet and prosperous for a century; with the consequence that in the exciting decade before the outbreak of the Revolution, a large proportion of the shrewdest and most influential public and professional men doubted, to say the least, if they were not likely to be better off under existing conditions in this favored spot than they would be if independent of Britain:—this being not merely a conviction in relation to their individual welfare, but also in consideration of the permanent interests of the community. Foremost in the opposite scale was the healthy instinct of loyal coöperation in the united action of other provincial governments, which in its turn involved also a broader and more comprehensive self-interest; and in most cases this process of deliberation and argument resulted in the ungrudging support of a policy of armed resistance.

By a law of human nature, hesitation in taking up the attitude of rebels was at first especially the rôle of the older generation of public men, under the dominion of the habits of a life-time. Of

this class an early example was the Governor of the Colony, Thomas Fitch, of Norwalk, born in 1700, and graduated at Yale in 1721, who after a lifelong service of the State, culminating in twelve-years' tenure of the chief magistracy, was relegated to private life in 1766, for regarding it his bounden duty to take the oath required by the British government to put in operation the odious Stamp Act. Of course I would not imply that Governor Fitch is to be classed as a pronounced Loyalist; but his attitude, and that of the four members of his Council who stood by him in this crisis (John Chester, of Wethersfield, Benjamin Hall, of Cheshire, Jabez Hamlin, of Middletown, and Ebenezer Silliman, of Fairfield), and of Jared Ingersoll, of New Haven, the unhappy Stamp-Agent, was practically an anticipation of that of many others who were active in public matters eight and ten years later; and when the need of decision arrived for these also, we cannot wonder if a natural instinct constrained some such to remain faithful to their traditionary obligations.

Perhaps I may illustrate the customary ways in which the thinking men of this next generation were affected by the problem set before them, by taking the examples of five of the more conspicuous public men of the group of Yale graduates in Connecticut,—a group, however, which included a large proportion of the leading men in civil life. The five whose names suggest themselves, and who were all about sixty years of age in 1774, are George Wyllys, of the Class of 1729; Elihu Hall, Class of 1731; Abraham Davenport, Class of 1732; and Benjamin Gale and Samuel Talcott, Class of 1733.

Colonel Wyllys, of Hartford, had grown gray in official service as the Secretary of the Colony, and continued to hold that useful station acceptably until his death at the ripe age of eighty-five; and though he was currently understood to be averse at first to the change of allegiance, he refrained prudently from overt action, and not only outgrew completely the faint odium of loyalty, but even the repute and recollection of it.

Colonel Elihu Hall, of Wallingford, on the other hand, is the sole representative in this group of pure and consistent toryism. His birth and family connections opened to him the best that Connecticut had to offer; and after his admission to the bar his success as a lawyer was phenomenally rapid. An extensive practice led to repeated trips to England, which increased his attachment to the mother country, and ensured his choice of it as a refuge after war began. He fled from New Haven to New York in January, 1779; and a letter is preserved, retailing his report to British authorities of conditions in Connecticut at that date, which is as untrustworthy as such reports were apt to be. He estimates, for example, that two-thirds of the inhabitants of the Colony are in favor of reunion

with Great Britain; and announces that Governor Trumbull's popularity is declining—as evinced at the polls: an assertion entirely inconsistent with all other evidence. He also intimates that important conversions to the British side are imminent; but unfortunately the only two examples which he specifies do not display shrewd judgment. One of these, his own brother-in-law, the Rev. Chauncey Whittelsey, pastor of the First Church in New Haven, is abundantly known as of unswerving and otherwise unsuspected patriotism; and the same is, so far as I can learn, true of the other individual named, Colonel Thomas Seymour, of Hartford. Such baseless gossip was bound to react on the informer and his value as an adherent; and the sequel is not out of keeping with this prologue. For our latest glimpse of Colonel Hall is in London, after the war, pleading that, having lost his large American property, his only support, in an infirm and lonely old age, is his pension of £80 a year, which will not allow him to keep a servant. Others of the London colony of refugees add their testimony to the dismal picture,—to the effect that he had in earlier life been confined in a madhouse, and now squanders the little he has in liquor and debauchery.

In the College class below him was Abraham Davenport, of Stamford, a great-grandson of the first minister of New Haven, a prominent member of the Governor's Council, or Upper House of the General Assembly, and Judge of the County Court. He was naturally conservative in his judgment of public questions, and it was no secret that he viewed with great hesitation and disfavor a rupture with Great Britain; but when it became necessary for the Colony to range itself definitely in the organized struggle, he yielded to the paramount claims of the common cause, and thenceforth no one was more firm or more constant in its service.

In the Class of 1733 were Dr. Benjamin Gale, of Clinton, and Colonel Samuel Talcott, of Hartford. Dr. Gale was a learned and skilful physician, of very pronounced and not altogether orthodox views in religion and philosophy. He took also a deep interest in politics, and had served for years in the Assembly. He was one of the most striking characters of his generation in Connecticut, very pessimistic and critical in his outlook, and acknowledging no man and no group of men as master. To such an observer the revolutionary movement was full of danger. He was firmly attached to the cause of liberty, as he conceived it, but differed conscientiously from his neighbors and associates as to the proper *mode* of opposition to Great Britain; but in the issue, even this perverse and captious critic was clear-sighted enough to concede that one's preferences as to mode must give way, in cases where another mode has been commonly agreed upon.

His classmate, Samuel Talcott, son of the Governor of the Colony, and therefore, like George Wyllys and Abraham Davenport, placed at the head of his class by social standing, was by inheritance and descent counted among the richest and most highly favored gentry of the period. In middle life he had performed his due share of civil and military service, and now, in a leisurely old age, his circumstances and habits illy adapted him to welcome the hardships of the Revolution. In the result, however, he too is found standing firmly by the new State government and withholding nothing.

Like these, in their different ways, the better part of the maturer intelligence of the Colony went through the ordeal of a conflict between self-interest, or private judgment, and public policy, and rallied effectively in support of independence.

Under the Connecticut charter, the people elected their own rulers, and accordingly there was here no such large official class, dependent on the British power, as in the other American colonies; and what constituted the largest section of the Tory party in most of the neighboring governments was here practically non-existent. As one result of this situation, the most numerous group in Connecticut of those who were by personal affiliations predestined to sympathy with Great Britain, was the body of missionary clergy of the Church of England, all of whom, on receiving orders in the mother country, had taken a special oath of allegiance to the crown, and were moreover dependent in good part on the stipends furnished by the English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel."

If I have counted correctly, there were at the outbreak of the war nineteen Episcopal clergymen in Connecticut, of whom fifteen were Yale graduates. The eldest of this group, the Rev. John Beach, born in Stratford in 1700, and graduated in 1721, had come as an undergraduate under the influence of Samuel Johnson, then Tutor; and after his settlement in the Congregational ministry in Newtown, while Johnson was in charge of the Church of England mission in the adjoining township of Stratford, he was led by the same influence to conform to Episcopacy, and eventually to accept the cure of missions in Newtown and Reading. It may be an indication of the weight of his character that the proportion of Episcopalians in Newtown before the Revolution is said to have been higher than in any other township in Connecticut. He is specially remembered for his intrepidity in continuing to use in public worship, after all his fellow-presbyters had closed their church-doors, the appointed prayer for the King, which included a petition to "strengthen him that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies."

Next to Mr. Beach, at least among those of Connecticut birth, in length of service in the Colony was the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming, born on the confines of Durham and Middletown in 1717, and graduated at Yale in 1745. He also had been touched by Samuel Johnson's influence, and, after receiving orders and serving temporarily elsewhere, became in 1758 the minister of the parish in Norwalk, where after twenty years of devoted labor he suffered unhappily at the hands of both parties to the war,—first as a tory from wanton exposure while lodged on the floor of the county jail in winter, which rendered him a wretched cripple for the rest of his days, and secondly from the destruction of all his personal effects, a year later, when General Tryon, though himself a member of the Venerable Society whose commission Leaming bore, with equal wantonness burned his house and his church in the invasion of Norwalk. He was then transported within the British lines, but after the peace came back to Connecticut, and found in his destitute and forlorn old age an asylum here with that devoted Churchwoman, Madam Hillhouse, in whose mansion, known to us as Grove Hall, he died in 1804.

The most blatant and most notorious member of this group of Church clergy was Samuel Peters, of Hebron, born of Episcopal parents in 1735, and graduated at Yale in 1757, who became a missionary in his native town and the vicinity. On the news of British troops firing on Boston, in 1774, his arrogant and offensive attitude, and especially his activity in publishing resolutions condemning the popular opposition to Parliament, provoked such treatment and such threats that he fled forthwith to England. His sworn statements of his resources and his losses, still on file in connection with his applications for compensation, are ludicrously and impudently overdrawn. He claims, for instance, that his father, who was a plain, ordinarily well-to-do farmer, in one of the poorest towns in Hartford County, had been the richest citizen of the entire Colony, and that his own confiscated estate was valued at the absurd figure of upwards of £40,000. By this extravagant tale he succeeded in gaining a pension of £200 a year, which was withdrawn some twenty-five years later, after fuller experience of his pretentious unreliability.

It may seem like slaying the slain to enlarge on the falsehoods of the notorious Parson Peters; but whenever I read over anew any of his attempts at narration, I am reassured that his colossal powers of untruth have never been properly appreciated. Take, for instance, his article in the *Political Magazine* of London, on the History of his near neighbor, Governor Trumbull, of Lebanon, who had striven hard to protect him from the mob in his troubles, but

whose life Peters pretends to sketch in a series of the most outrageously unblushing and libelous falsehoods. In justification of such a characterization it will be enough to recall the initial statement in Peters' biography:—that Jonathan Trumbull, a scion of a family of unblemished reputation, was really an illegitimate child, and probably the son of the Rev. Samuel Welles, the minister of the town,—and this regardless of the plain fact that Mr. Welles was not settled in Lebanon until more than a year after Trumbull's birth.

It only emphasizes Peters' peculiar character, or lack of character, to note that he was the only minister of the Church of England in the Colony who thought it advisable or necessary to forsake his post for a foreign asylum, before the war began; though four others, James Scovil of Waterbury, Roger Viets of Simsbury, Samuel Andrews of Wallingford, and Richard Clarke, of New Milford, were induced, after peace was declared, under stress of poverty by the removal of their flocks, rather than from experience of enmity or odium, to accept the cure of parishes in the British Provinces, of kindred origin and sympathies.

There remain a dozen other Episcopal incumbents, whom I have not mentioned specifically, who retained their places through the Revolutionary struggle, with more or less discomfort and some ill-usage, and finally acquiesced peacefully in the results accomplished. Of this number were such familiar figures in this vicinity as Richard Mansfield, Yale 1741, of Derby; Bela Hubbard, Yale 1758, of New Haven, and Abraham Jarvis, Yale 1761, of Middletown—all of whom lived to be doctorated in a succeeding generation by their *Alma Mater*. It should perhaps be noted that Dr. Mansfield, though not in any wise to be classed with Peters, had once found it prudent to take temporary refuge on Long Island, on account of the excitement caused by the report of a letter of his to a British officer, which merely included some conjectural estimate of the strength of Loyalist sentiment in Western Connecticut.

Many lay-members of the Episcopal Church were also avowed or suspected loyalists; but comparatively few went to the length of exile. In such a conspicuous case as that of the Hon. William Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Yale 1744, one of the most eminent lawyers in the Colony, he must be credited with an honest doubt as to the right course of action; on finding himself unable conscientiously to advocate independence, he retired definitely from all public employment, but let it be known that he had no inclination to aid the enemy, and had without hesitation contributed to the patriotic cause; and when peace was established, he assumed a

prominent and effective part in the councils of the State and of the nation.

One locally well-known lay-churchman who had to be dealt with for his loyalty was Ralph Isaacs, a native of Norwalk, who had settled in New Haven as a merchant after his graduation at Yale in 1761, and became the grandfather of the Hon. Ralph Isaacs Ingersoll, and uncle of the wife of the elder President Dwight. He was a rather volatile person, and was early mistrusted as a sympathizer with the enemy, so that for over a year he was held under observation and restraint in one of the interior towns, where it was presumed he would lack opportunity of making trouble; but he soon transgressed by taking advantage of his partial liberty to supply his neighbors surreptitiously with rum. After a further period of surveillance, he took the oath of fidelity, and lived thenceforth in comparative retirement, mostly on his farm in Branford.

Another lay-churchman of New Haven, who accompanied Mr. Isaacs in his temporary banishment, was Captain Abiathar Camp, a native of Durham; and he also, after a like period of detention, took the oath and was allowed to return to his residence here. But his allegiance was fickle, and finally he and his family went off with the British after the invasion in 1779. He had been a successful merchant, and in presenting in 1783 a claim for compensation, he estimated his income from his business at £200 per annum, and his total losses at over £8,000, though this claim was eventually much reduced. It may be of interest to know that while a diligent business man at that date, of no special educational advantages, he owned a library of English and Latin books, valued at ten guineas; and also that he filed in support of his demands a certificate of loyalty, furnished in 1786 by his quondam fellow-townsman, General Benedict Arnold,—which document praises him specifically for activity in providing guides and pilots for the expedition which Arnold himself had conducted against New London in 1781. Captain Camp died in Nova Scotia soon after the adjudication of his claim. I should add that there were included in his company in exile a son, Abiathar Camp, Junior, who had entered Yale in 1773, but did not reach graduation, and who died in the Provinces at a great age in 1841; and also a son-in-law, Daniel Lyman, Junior, Yale 1770, a convert to the church, who became eventually a Major in the British army.

Besides the Episcopalians, there was one other minute group of less conspicuous sectarian Loyalists.

For local reasons Connecticut had never proved congenial soil for Quaker colonists; but about 1764 the disciples of Robert Sandeman, called Sandemanians, who imitated the Quakers in being

conscientiously bound to a policy of passive resistance to war, and thus considered themselves obliged to remain loyal to King George, had gained a scanty foothold here, especially in Danbury and New Haven. They were mostly of undistinguished social standing and small political influence. The best known of the group were Richard Woodhull, Yale 1752; Daniel Humphreys and Joseph Pynchon, Yale 1757; Titus Smith, Yale 1764; and Theophilus Chamberlain, Yale 1765.

Richard Woodhull, from Long Island, had been a favorite pupil of President Clap, and had therefore been employed to fill with rather indifferent success for seven or eight years a College tutorship. He remained, after his first conscientious protest, peaceably and inconspicuously in New Haven until his death. Daniel Humphreys, the ablest member of the company, was a son of the minister of Derby, and brother of General David Humphreys. He practiced law here, and also taught a private school of high grade; but removed by the close of the war to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he had a long and rather brilliant career at the bar. His classmate, Joseph Pynchon, from Springfield, had inherited a good estate, and lived in dignified leisure in Guilford, where he had married. After becoming a Sandemanian, he removed to New Haven, perhaps for religious privileges, but was made so uncomfortable here that he retired within the British lines, thus sacrificing a large portion of his estate. He returned a year or two after the peace to Guilford, and is to be remembered as the ancestor of well-known New Haven citizens and of President Pynchon, of Trinity College. Titus Smith and Theophilus Chamberlain, who were also of Massachusetts birth, had both done good service as missionaries among the Indians, and after their abandonment of Congregationalism were recognized as the preaching elders in charge of the obscure handful of Sandemanians in this city. Like Pynchon, they felt constrained to take refuge with the British, and they both ended their days in Halifax.

Aside from these whom I have enumerated, the next most notable company of Loyalist exiles from the New Haven township was the family circle of Joshua Chandler, Yale 1747. He was a native of Woodstock, and a fellow-townsman and first cousin of that stout Churchman, the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, Yale 1745, of New Jersey, who was active just before the Revolution in promoting the scheme for an American Episcopate, and went later into exile as a Loyalist.

Joshua Chandler had adhered to the Congregational church, and had become a successful lawyer, with every worldly motive to prompt him to side with the popular current. His ample town-

house, built early in the same decade (1760-70) with other notable old New Haven residences, on the site of the Tontine Hotel and the new Post-office, and thence removed in 1824 or 5, is now occupied by Mr. Henry B. Sargent. Like other well-to-do citizens of the day, Mr. Chandler had also bought extensive landed estates in the suburbs, and after 1765 lived principally on one of his farms in North Haven. In 1775, in the full tide of his professional and political reputation, as Justice of the Peace, Selectman, Deputy to the General Assembly, and Chairman of the town's Committee of Correspondence, he announced, from conscientious motives, his determined loyalty to King George, and accepted the consequent suspicion and obloquy. Four years later he left town with the British invaders, accompanied by his wife, a daughter of Joseph Miles, of New Haven, three daughters, and four sons. He had moved in the first circles in the community, and in letters sent back after his flight professed a strong affection for his native country; but the records of the London commissioners in 1783 who received his appeal for compensation quote his statement to them that he had remained so long as he did in the Colony, as thinking that he might thus be able to communicate essential information to General Tryon in his invasion, and in other ways to be of service to the home government. The property which he abandoned, to the estimated value of about £4000, was confiscated by the town, and he recovered compensation, covering three-fourths of that amount.

His eldest son (John Chandler, Yale 1772) alone remained here; but his career was blighted by the opprobrium of the family record. The second son, William Chandler, Yale 1773, had early espoused the British cause, and in 1777 raised a company in New York of over a hundred men for the King's service; and he and a younger brother earned infamy by aiding to pilot the British in their invasion of New Haven. It is a satisfaction to know that he failed to secure an allowance from the government after the close of the war, except a paltry annual pension of £40; which was to cease, if he should be put on half-way as a retired army-officer.

With the family went also Amos Botsford, Yale 1763, a son-in-law and a New Haven attorney, who stated frankly in his later application for compensation that he was obliged to flee on account of the odium arising from the action of his brothers-in-law as guides to the invaders. He claimed that he had abandoned property worth over £2500, including a library, chiefly of law-books, valued at £37 sterling; and that his annual professional income was about £600, of which he had been able to lay up on an average £225, after spending £375 for the support of his family, which included a wife and three children. He also testified that, when filing this application in Annapolis, his available income scarcely exceeded thirty

guineas a year; and on this showing he was allowed an annual pension of £224.

There remain a few other names of notable New Haveners, who were temporarily or permanently disaffected. One such is that of Judge Thomas Darling, of Woodbridge, Yale 1740, a son-in-law of the Rev. Joseph Noyes, pastor of the First Church: a stubborn, cross-grained person, of strong convictions, unable on principle to accept without dispute the current arguments for renouncing British sovereignty, but judicious enough in the long run to restrain himself from fruitless opposition to the moral sense of the community in which his lot was cast. With him may be named his College classmate and pastor, the Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, in whose honor, when the farmers of Amity Parish asked for town privileges, they preferred the name of Woodbridge—a sufficient proof that imperfect sympathy on the part of their old pastor with the new political order had not made any serious breach in the regard of his people.

The two classmates, Darling and Woodbridge, agreed also in their theological position, both being firm supporters of the Old Light party, which some of the patriotic New Lights tried to discredit generally, as applying its conservatism to the political field. But in fact disaffection was not limited, among the Congregational clergy, to the conservatives. Dr. John Smalley, of New Britain, Yale 1756, a leader of the new theology of the day, may serve as a typical instance of one who, starting from a reasoned policy of non-resistance, reproved at first the patriotic ardor of his flock, and was only slowly and laboriously converted to their point of view.

Within College walls sentiment was overwhelmingly on the side of the American cause. President Ezra Stiles, the typical broad-minded student of his generation, and strictly speaking neither a politician nor a theologian, had been from the first an outspoken patriot; and Professor Daggett's fearless, not to say foolhardy, exposure of his person is one of the best known incidents of the attack on New Haven. But, on the other hand, the only other permanent member of the Faculty, the Rev. Nehemiah Strong, the Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, who was by the way an Old Light in theology, was decidedly lukewarm in his support of revolution, and perhaps for this reason in part was provided so meagre a stipend that he found himself in the course of the struggle driven to resign his post.

The student body could naturally be counted on as enthusiastic for liberty, with a few marked exceptions: such, for instance, as John Jones, a native of Stratford, of the Class of 1776, who went directly from College into the British army, and Jared Mansfield, of New Haven, of the following class, a nephew of the Rev. Dr.

Richard Mansfield, who after a lawless and broken College career, was among those inhabitants who remained passively in the town when the British troops took possession of it, and thus laid himself open to the charge of toryism. The public spirit and efficiency of his later career have redeemed the memory of his early vagaries.

One peculiarly interesting connection of Yale with the contending armies relates to the family of Dr. George Muirson, of Long Island, who spent his last years in New Haven, and had in early life taken a highly notable part in the promotion of inoculation for the small-pox in America. Himself a loyal Churchman, two of his sons, graduates respectively in 1771 and 1776, fought in the war—the elder on the British and the younger on the American side,—an unparalleled instance in Yale or New Haven history. Besides at least one other line of New Haven descendants, a sister of these youths was the paternal grandmother of President Woolsey.

There were perhaps somewhat over a thousand Yale graduates in active life at the time of the Revolution, and it is a satisfactory evidence of their substantial agreement in sentiment that less than twenty-five, or 2½ per cent, sided at once and permanently with the mother country and sought refuge in British territory or died in British military service; of this number the majority were employees of either the Crown or the Church of England.

Besides such of this brief list as have already been noticed, only some half dozen more of the Yale Loyalists were persons of any special distinction; and their record can be easily summarized.

There was, for instance, the Rev. Dr. Henry Caner, of English birth, the son of that master builder who was brought to New Haven in 1717 to construct the original building named Yale College, and who through the marriage of a granddaughter into the Hillhouse family furnished a name for our (misspelt) Canner Street. Born in the Church of England, he entered her ministry in Fairfield, after his graduation in 1724, and proved so attractive a preacher that in 1747 he succeeded to the rectorship of the most conspicuous and aristocratic Episcopal congregation in New England, that of King's Chapel in Boston. When the Revolution came, in his old age, he accompanied the British on their evacuation of the town, and finally settled down in England in poverty and obscurity. His attested loss of an annual income of £200 was at length made up by an equivalent pension; and he attained a great age, which made him for eight years the oldest surviving graduate of Yale.

A second venerable Loyalist of prominence, who also attained the distinction of being the oldest living graduate, was David Ogden, of Newark, New Jersey, Class of 1728, the leading lawyer of that Province, and a Judge of the Supreme Court. As early as January,

1777, his active sympathy with the British led him to seek the protection of the troops in New York and to receive honor there as a political counselor. Then followed exile in England, where he lived in pitiful illness and loneliness, on borrowed money, under the care of a servant, until on the representation of his losses he was given a pension of £200, which he relinquished, however, in extreme old age, to return to the asylum which he craved under the flag of the United States.

Of a younger generation was another eminent graduate, who was firm in conscientious opposition to the Revolution, William Smith the younger, the historian of the Province of New York, of the Class of 1745. As a lawyer he stood at the head of his profession for ability and integrity; and after he felt constrained to an attitude of neutrality, his advice in matters of law and policy was still sought by his former associates and freely given. Finally, when unable to take the oath of allegiance to the new government, he was driven into the British lines, where he was complimented with the titular rank of Chief Justice of New York, and after the peace with the real and valid appointment of Chief Justice of Canada.

Three years younger in College age was the Rev. Samuel Seabury, a native of Groton, who took orders in the Episcopal church, in which he had been reared. The approach of the Revolution found him stationed in Westchester, N. Y., on the Connecticut border, where he had already been extensively occupied as an anonymous pamphleteer in behalf of the claims of the Church of England, and in opposition to the union of the Colonies. In 1774 he printed, still anonymously, a series of remarkably able and even brilliant papers in criticism of the Continental Congress, the authorship of which he avowed in his appeals to the Commissioners for compensation in 1783, although contradictory statements over his signature are also alleged to exist. In November, 1775, he was seized and brought to New Haven by a posse of Connecticut soldiers, who resented his partisan activity, was paraded ignominiously through our streets, and was kept here under guard for a month. After his release he took refuge within the British lines, and there received an appointment as Chaplain, from which he enjoyed to the end of his life a small half-pay pension. His later career, as the first Bishop of the American Episcopal Church, to which office he was chosen after the peace, while still in New York City, is too well known to need rehearsal.

Another graduate of high official standing who adhered to the British side was Judge Thomas Jones, of the New York Supreme Court, of the Class of 1750. He held court for the last time in April, 1776; and after repeated experiences of arrest and imprison-

ment for disaffection to the American cause, he embarked for England in 1781. In 1783 he estimated his losses at upwards of £14,000 sterling; and a small pension was assigned him, which he received until his death in 1792. He is now perhaps most generally remembered as the author of a bitterly partisan *History of New York during the Revolution,* which was published from his manuscript in 1879; in this work he refers to his *Alma Mater* as "then and still a nursery of sedition, faction and republicanism."

Another of the same group was Edmund Fanning, a native of Long Island, and a graduate of 1757. He settled as a lawyer in North Carolina, where he so won the favor of Governor Tryon as to become a trusted and influential factor in the public service. When Tryon was promoted in 1771 to the New-York governorship, Fanning went with him, and there also held important office. In 1776, as an ardent Loyalist, he raised and took command of a regiment, remaining in the field through the war. Later, as a reward for his fidelity, he was made successively Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia and of Prince Edward Island. He accompanied Tryon on his expedition for the invasion of New Haven, in 1779, and when soliciting an honorary degree from Yale a quarter of a century later claimed that through his intervention the College buildings were saved from pillage and destruction.

I have not as yet emphasized the admitted fact that a considerable minority of the business men of New Haven in these pre-Revolutionary days are credited with Tory proclivities; but it is fair to remember that, however exasperating the differences in opinion may have been, there was no open scandal and the vote in town-meeting in 1766, of 226 to 48 in favor of supporting the Colony officials in ignoring the Stamp Act, probably expresses about the usual strength of the two parties.

In any account of New Haven society, I should also mention that, after the trying experiences of the war were over, and the community had settled down again into its ordinary routine, the development of interests tended to consolidate, in their opposition to the older and more conservative elements, the greater part of the Episcopalians with the more venturesome commercial adventurers and the restless, drifting fringe of the population, who, with little at stake, were indifferent to hardly-won standards. These miscellaneous elements, the nucleus of the future Jeffersonians and Tolerationists, absorbed into their camp the remnants of the loyalist faction, and so conspicuous a part did these form that the whole group was often described as "Tories," and classed as not altogether well-affected to the Federal government. Thus, President Stiles, when he comments in his *Diary* on the inauguration of the City

government in 1784, refers with evident asperity to the numerous Tory element—estimating one-third of the duly enrolled citizens as "hearty Tories," one-third as "Whigs," and one-third as "indifferent." Of the forty voters who are Episcopalians he labels all as "Tories" but two, and includes from the same camp from twenty to thirty of the First-Church flock. The credulous President's figures may have been warped by gossip and prejudice; but at all events it is clear that thus early after the war a considerable weight in public affairs was conceded to the party which embraced the former Loyalists, in whom—so far as local traditions show—there was no pretence of reversion to dead issues, but a healthy and active interest in helping to work out the adaptation of the familiar conditions of life in our old democratic Colony to a new set of responsibilities and obligations in the Union of independent States.

THE REV. HARRY CROSWELL, D.D., AND HIS DIARY.

[From the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Vol. IX. Read January 1916.] The Club Feb 8. 1905 "Rev. Dr. Croswell's Di

I have long been accustomed to count it a matter of peculiar good fortune that my personal recollections of New Haven go back so far as to include a living impression of almost every one of that group of notable men who were the conspicuous figures in this community at the middle of the last century; and inasmuch as at my coming here in 1857 I took rooms on College Street, at the corner of Crown, it is natural that one of the most distinct in that panorama of stately personages who were then just passing off the stage was the Rev. Dr. Croswell, as I was accustomed to see him almost daily on his walks to and from his house, half way down the next block, on Crown Street.

These glimpses of him, in his long cloak and top boots, joined with the companion picture of his deliberate march up and down the central aisle of Trinity Church in full canonicals, have left with me a striking image of dignified and venerable age, not melancholy and forlorn as that of his somewhat older neighbor, Ex-President Day, but distinctly suggestive of active kindliness and of watchful human sympathy, not altogether crushed and broken by the labors and sorrows of almost eighty years.

Harry Croswell, the seventh of eight children of Caleb and Hannah (Kellogg) Croswell, of West Hartford, Connecticut, was born in June, 1778. His father was a native of Charlestown, Massachusetts, and his mother of West Hartford, where the family lived in humble circumstances.

He was bred as a Congregationalist, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Nathan Perkins, a graduate of Princeton College, who was settled in that suburban parish for two-thirds of a century.

Noah Webster, the lexicographer, was also a native and early resident of West Hartford; and Harry Croswell at the age of eleven lived for one winter as errand-boy in Mr. Webster's family, receiving help in his lessons in part return for his services.

After leaving school he became a clerk in a country store in Warren, in Litchfield County, but soon migrated to Catskill, N. Y., to learn the printer's art from an older brother, who was also one of the

proprietors of a weekly newspaper, *The Catskill Packet.* While thus occupied, he ventured to send occasional anonymous contributions to that sheet, which led to the recognition of his promise as a writer, and finally to his instalment in the editorial chair.

In August, 1800, he was married to Susan Sherman, a native of New Haven, of a family long identified with Centre Church, who since the death of her parents was living in Catskill in the family of an older brother.

A few months later he removed across the river to the flourishing city of Hudson, where he established, in May, 1801, in partnership with Ezra Sampson, a Yale graduate, and a retired Congregational minister, an independent weekly newspaper, of high character, called *The Balance,* which soon attained a fair circulation, and is still esteemed by students of that period for its exceptional literary excellence. Mr. Sampson was a practiced essayist, and Mr Croswell's own contributions included frequent poetical efforts, as well as a constant supply of prose material, especially in the political field. During the most of his editorial career he also conducted a bookselling business; and for a short time held the rank of Lieutenant in the State Militia.

In the summer of 1802 he undertook further the publication of a small occasional sheet, called *The Wasp,* which was designed by the Federalists of Hudson as an antidote to *The Bee,* a Democratic paper just begun there; of *The Wasp* only twelve numbers were issued.

His senior partner withdrew from *The Balance* at the end of 1803; and early in 1804 some of the Democratic State-leaders resolved to crush Mr. Croswell, in consequence of articles which he had published reflecting severely on President Jefferson. He was made defendant in several libel cases, founded on matter which had appeared in *The Balance* and the defunct *Wasp;* and the courts being controlled by his opponents, he was heavily mulcted, beyond his ability to pay. One of these suits gained special renown from the appearance of Alexander Hamilton, then at the zenith of his career, as one of the volunteer counsel of Mr. Croswell, and his delivery of a masterly argument in defence of the liberty of the press, only five months before his tragic death.

At the close of 1808, Mr. Croswell ventured, unwisely, to transfer the office of his paper to Albany, where, however, he failed to receive the party support of which he had been assured. His advertising patronage was also very meagre, his subscription-list small, and multiplied libel suits continued to harass him. A climax was reached in the Spring of 1811, when one of his creditors, who was a leading Federalist, obtained a judgment against him for a

small debt which he could not discharge, and for three or four months he was obliged to edit his paper while confined within jail limits. Cut to the quick by what he felt to be gross disloyalty on the part of a representative of the party for which he had done and suffered so much, he announced that *The Balance* would suspend publication at the end of the current year, expressing frankly also his disgust at the falseness and desertion of his Federalist patrons, in such terms that he was understood to renounce his former associations, and was even suspected of a purpose of joining the Democrats. In fact, he never again attended a political meeting (unless as a clerical duty), or exercised his rights as a voter; his revulsion from Federalism was so entire, that in later life his tacit sympathy was evidently with the Democratic party.

Early in 1812 he conformed to the Episcopal Church, receiving baptism in July, and confirmation a week later at the hands of Bishop Hobart.

He was then led to consider the claims of the Christian ministry, and after a hasty preparation, under the direction of a young clergyman then boarding with him, the Rev. Timothy Clowes, who was the rector of St. Peter's Church, he was ordained Deacon in St. John's Church, New York City, by Bishop Hobart, on May 8, 1814, being then nearly 36 years of age; and when we recall that for upwards of ten years he had been prominent in the public eye as the strenuously combative editor of a violently partisan journal in Hudson and the vicinity, it is a remarkable tribute to the respect inspired by his character that on the first Sunday after his ordination he assumed charge of Christ Church in Hudson.

While thus engaged, having ocasion to visit New Haven during the ensuing summer on family business, he was invited, on a sudden emergency, to conduct the services for a single Sunday in Trinity Church, at the time when the Rector, the Rev. Henry Whitlock, a Williams College graduate, of about Mr. Croswell's age, was prostrated with a fatal illness. Mr. Whitlock's resignation was received in October, and on the same day Mr. Croswell was invited to fill his place, with an annual salary of $1000, the same that he was receiving in Hudson. The chairman of the committee of notification was the venerable Dr. Eneas Munson, an uncle of Mrs. Croswell. The offer was especially tempting, for the sake of the four sons to whose education he was looking forward, and as restoring his wife to the companionship of a large circle of relatives. Accordingly, his acceptance followed, and be began his long ministry here on Sunday, January 1, 1815.

At that date the Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor, eight years younger than Mr. Croswell, had been for three years pastor of the First

Congregational Church; and the Rev. Samuel Merwin, who was but three years Mr. Croswell's junior, had been settled over the United Church for ten years. The new First Church, or the "Middle Brick," as it soon began to be called, a name changed by a later and more fastidous generation to the "Centre Church," had been dedicated on the previous Tuesday; and the North Church then building was ready for dedication in the following December. Dr. Dwight was the President of Yale College, and pastor of the College Church, but was soon prostrated under the painful disease which ended his life two years later.

Mr. Croswell was domiciled in a hired house on the east side of Orange Street, just above Crown; and the Trinity Church of that day, on the east side of Church Street (which was named from this location), and a little below Chapel Street, was an old wooden structure, with long round-topped windows, doors, vestibules, and inside entrances, which had undergone successive enlargements since it was built, 60 years before, but was so inadequate for the accommodation of the perhaps 130 families of New Haven and vicinity who made up the parish, that already, in the previous May, the corner-stone had been laid of a new stone church, on the Public Green, of which Ithiel Town was the architect.

Five months after his arrival, Mr. Croswell was admitted to Priest's orders by Bishop Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese, Bishop Jarvis, of Connecticut, having died in 1813; and in February, 1816, he was instituted into the rectorship, on the day after the new church, which was heralded as the first attempt at Gothic in church-building in New England, and one of the largest structures for that purpose in America, was duly consecrated.

A large increase in the numbers of the congregation followed at once, and from the standing of Trinity Parish in the diocese, Mr. Croswell held from the first a position of avowed leadership; as was shown in particular by his being mainly responsible for directing attention to a clergyman of near his own age, the Rev. Thomas Church Brownell, of the New York diocese, who was elected Bishop of Connecticut in 1818.

In April, 1821, when he was in his 43d year, and had lived in New Haven for six years, he began to keep a Diary, which he continued until his death, in 1858, and which exhibits a remarkable record of individual activity, and of the shrewd comments of a critical observer on persons and events within his daily experience. The whole amounts to nearly 5000 pages of manuscript, written in a beautifully minute and uniform hand.

With reference to this document it should be remembered that the author wrote and acted under certain obvious limitations.

Embarrassed, perhaps not altogether consciously, by his lack of College and ministerial training, and wholly without those intimate associations with his contemporaries which naturally accompany such training, he felt ill at ease in the Yale atmosphere, and chose to keep aloof from the friendly advances made by gentlemen of the College, and to confine his social relations almost exclusively to the families of his own parish. The honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred on him at Yale in 1817, without any apparent effect on his feelings.

Embittered also by his experience in the political arena, he assumed from the first an attitude of reserve and suspicion towards those of differing faith or practice, which tended to induce and to aggravate similar feeling and action on their part. His conception of his duty to Church principles prevented easy or natural relations with dissenters, so that much of the best which other newcomers found here was to him, from his own choice, under the ban, and the stimulus of friendly contact and sympathy in intellectual pursuits was so far denied him.

These limitations, on the other hand, made the concentration of his powers on the daily round of direct pastoral effort more and more amazingly effective. He did little reading, beyond current newspapers and Church periodicals, and after the first few years found the composition of fresh discourses somewhat irksome; but outside of his study, the incessant and varied demands of a large parish were full of absorbing interest and inspiration. He made it a rule, in his own language, "never to suffer anything to interfere with pastoral duty"; and the record of days without number is completely filled with the recital, not merely of more strictly ministerial acts, such as baptisms, funerals, and marriages, but of an exhausting round of visits to the sick, the afflicted, and the needy, among his own parishioners, as well as to many who were uncared for by any other agency. His house was also a centre of hospitality and of service. He enjoyed informal social intercourse, and until hampered by age and infirmity was a familiar and welcome figure in the homes of his people, as they in his.

On the other hand, formal gatherings of a fashionable sort were distasteful to him, as might be shown by many extracts from his Diary like the following:—

July 9, 1844. At 9 P. M. went to Mrs. Keese's, where Mrs. Croswell had spent the evening. Found a large and disagreeable party there, and after enduring the customary hardships on such occasions until ½ past ten, came home, and made a new mental resolution—not to get caught so again.

December 3, 1844. Took tea and spent the evening at Mrs. Ingersoll's, with a small party—pleasant enough, but the time thrown away.

Akin to such feelings was his strong disinclination to appear in public on any show-occasion, unless required by his duty as a clergyman. One instance out of many may illustrate this:—

October 9, 1821. This being the day assigned for the Agricultural Fair and Cattle Show, I was solicited by the Committee of Arrangement to join in the procession, and attend on the exercises at the meeting house, and afterwards to dine with the Society. It was a great sacrifice of feeling and convenience—but I attended. The clergy who attended were Baldwin, of Stratford, Taylor, congregationalist, Hill, baptist, and Fitch, professor of divinity in Yale College. Proceeded from the front of the Court house, around the square, to the North Meeting House—where we were foisted into the pulpit with the orator, Burrage Beach, Esq., of Cheshire. Taylor read a psalm—and then made a prayer. Then followed the oration. Then Hill read a psalm, and delivered a prayer of very handsome composition, which some friend, probably Abraham Bishop, had prepared to his hand. Then he read another psalm—and thus ended this part of the cattle-show. We were next dragged in procession to Hillhouse's Avenue to see the oxen, &c.—and after this we were conducted to the dinner table—and by the time the fare was over, it was past 4 o'clock. For my part, I felt tired and ashamed of the whole business.

And this extract illustrates perhaps as clearly the author's striking modesty, a crowning manifestation of which is displayed in his record of the Commencement at Washington, now Trinity, College in 1831, with its entire omission of any reference to the fact that one incident of the occasion was his own reception of the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

A kindred instance of unaffected humility is this entry of March 29, 1822:—

The Bishop [Dr. Brownell] called towards evening, with a prospectus for his Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer—wishing me to look it over and correct it! It is really a great trial to my feelings to have such a thing occur; but I endeavored not to discover anything of the kind. I took the manuscript, and actually suggested two or three verbal alterations, which the Bishop readily adopted.

From almost any page of this voluminous record it would be possible to select a specimen day in illustration of his unremitting routine labors in the direct line of professional duty. Any single example of this sort may be unimpressive; but the cumulative effect of such a lifelong chronicle of unwearied devotion and self-sacrifice is unquestionable and overwhelming. I quote as the record of only a part of an ordinary day's occupations, this extract from his entry for Monday, April 20, 1835:—

Rose early. Spent an hour before breakfast in making entries in Parish Register, Journal, &c. After the morning errands, commenced my round

of duty by visiting and praying with Dr. Elijah Monson's wife. Then called at Mr. O'Neil's to see Grace Jacocks, who is here on a visit. Then called to see Julia Deforest, who, being confined by slight lameness, is turning her attention, and apparently with much interest to the subject of religion. . . . P. M. Recommenced my round of duty. Called a moment to see the bride, Mrs. Granger. Then took a long pull, and visited and prayed with Mr. Thorp and wife, who are both sick in one room with typhus fever. [On the corner of State & Bradley sts.] This is the extremest part of the town on the North. Stopped a moment at J. Ball's. Then visited Mary Ann Bradley, whose case, I fear, is beginning to wear a threatening aspect. Next, visited and prayed with Harriet Fitch, who is declining rapidly. Next visited and prayed with S. J. Clarke's children, both dangerously sick. Called on Mr. Dykeman, H. W. Brintnall, and Dr. Robertson. Caught in an April shower, and on coming home found plenty of company, who had also got caught. Miss Gilbert, and Miss Macbeth and Miss Ogden staid to tea. In the evening was called to marry Benjamin D. Norris.

With respect to the demands made upon him, it should be noted that he served not merely as a spiritual counselor, but placed all his faculties and capacities at the command of his people. As the Diary testifies, he was often called on, for instance, to draft a new will, to write a troublesome business letter, to make peace with an unruly servant, to plan a new house, or a new church, or even to make a perverse chimney draw.

In some cases it may be difficult to decide whether the author of a diary wrote solely for his own eye, or whether he contemplated the possibility of his words becoming public. In the present case, there can be, I think, no doubt that Dr. Croswell's original object was solely to register, as an aid to memory, the consecutive performance of professional duty, without thought of other readers. We may ask, then, if the record should have been preserved, and if it should be a subject of public analysis and criticism. But as neither the writer nor his surviving children expressed any wish to the contrary, when the decision lay wholly in their hands, and as his last descendant died nearly half a century ago, it seems clear that the settlement of such questions was willingly left to the discretion of those on whom the responsibility might fall.

Meantime, some things are certain. Least of all would Dr. Croswell have shrunk from entire frankness in any exposition of the quality of his churchmanship and his relations with representatives of other Christian bodies. He would be described, I suppose, as a typical example of the old school of Connecticut High Churchmen, sharply distrustful of the Broad Church attitude of Dr. Muhlenberg and Dr. Harwood, and equally out of sympathy with the Low Churchmanship of Bishops Bedell and Eastburn and Dr. Tyng.

He was inflexibly loyal to the Prayer Book; and such exceptional variations as that noted in the following passage from the Diary are therefore the more remarkable.

April 4, 1822. Was called to attend the funeral of Isaac Basset's child, the methodist minister being out of town. All strong methodists—so I wore no gown—used an extempore prayer at the house—and accommodated myself as far as possible to their feelings, without departing from any positive rule of the Church.

February 28, 1828. The funeral of Mr. Sherman [a brother of Mrs. Croswell] was attended in the afternoon. I performed the whole service. After returning to the house, I invited old Mr. Stebbins [of West Haven], who had attended as a mourner, on account of the relationship of his wife to Mrs. Sherman, to pray with the family. The old gentleman, though a Congregational clergyman, knelt down and made a very consistent prayer, closing with the Lord's Prayer. The kneeling and Lord's Prayer would have been considered by a man more bigoted, as too much of compliance with church-customs.

Compare, also, with these another funeral entry, which, if unique in his own case, must have had parallels elsewhere:—

Sunday, November 15, 1835. After afternoon service hastened down to the Chapel, to attend the funeral of young Murphy. . . . Mr. Bennett performed the service at the Chapel—and I performed all that was done at the grave, but as it had become so dark, that I could not distinguish a letter, I dare not venture on the Collect from memory.

As has been said already, Dr. Croswell found the writing of sermons a burden; and judging from the serial numbers attached to his discourses, he seems during a ministry of nearly 44 years to have made on the average a new sermon only once in about three weeks. His Diary reveals great ingenuity also in the adaptation of old material to new uses. Witness such entries as these:—

Friday, December 4, 1829. [15 years after ordination.] Tried, in vain, to set myself about sermons—but finally was obliged to select two from my old stock, of which the number is so large, and embracing so many topics, that I find it difficult to strike out a new one.

Saturday, February 25, 1832. Not having time to finish a sermon, resorted to my pigeon-holes, and found a substantial old sermon, which had not been preached in eight years. Let them remember this, if they can.

Saturday, May 5, 1832. Went to work in the morning, and took an old sermon, and ripped off the collar and wristbands—that is, rigged it out with a new text, introduction, and conclusion, and intend to try it to-morrow.

May 21, 1848. My sermon, which I had substantially re-written from an old one, with three convertible texts, to adapt it to Advent, Epiphany, or Easter, was now designed partly as a missionary sermon, and seemed to take very well.

Once he enlarges on his method of composition:—

January 11, 1822. In the evening transcribed a few pages into my sermon, which I had composed in the course of the afternoon. This is a labour to which I have always subjected myself—composing first in a very small hand, on small scraps and slips of paper, and afterwards transcribing into the notes from which I deliver, and which are always written in a fair, though rather small hand, and broken up into sentences, and parts of sentences, to assist the eye in the delivery. This last peculiarity has excited the curiosity of such of my brethren of the clergy as have noticed it: but they don't seem to understand it— and for one of the plainest reasons in the world:—their sermons have no points, nor are the sentences so formed as to admit of any regular division of their members. . . . I designed the plan, because I knew my inability to write without emendations—and I cannot bear to see a manuscript full of erasures, alterations, and interlineations. Sermons written *offhand* are apt to be slovenly in their style—and they are as much *extempore* sermons, as if they were preached without notes. It is my aim to *finish* my sermons, as much as my great and arduous labors will permit.

There is little in the Diary which bears upon the teaching in his sermons. He was not given to speculation, and his daily record is occupied with practical and external data,—least of all with theological investigation, or self-examination. Comments on the sermons of others are frequent, and not always favorable, but such sidenotes as the following, with reference to his own mode of thought, are unusual:—

Sunday, September 18, 1825. Mr. Shelton preached three times. He writes handsomely, and preaches impressively—but his sermons have no spice of gospel spirit. He urges *obedience,* and inculcates the necessity of *faith*—but not one word of *repentance.* In his evening sermon he told of every way of *coming to God,* but the right one (with a penitent and broken heart and contrite spirit).

His theoretical attitude towards his neighbors who were outside the pale of the Church, is expressed in the following extract:—

Tuesday, May 1, 1821. In the evening held my regular lecture at the Orange-Street school room, and spoke on Christian unity, principally with a view of pointing out the absurdity of attempting to harmonize the different denominations of Christians, by drawing them into mixed meetings of laymen, to hear lay-preachers. Recommended the *unity of spirit,* without hoping, in the present state of the world, to produce unity of sentiment.

His method, however, of illustrating the "unity of spirit" in practice was not specially calculated to promote the object, as may be gathered from the following out of numerous descriptions in his Journal of services conducted by nonconformists:—

November 17, 1824. Having been invited by President Day to attend the dedication of the new College Chapel—went at 2 o'clock. It was rather a singular exhibition. They first sang an anthem—not in the best style. Having

no female voices, the treble solos were murdered in cold blood. Then President Day read some scattered verses from the Psalms—in bad shape, without any qualification. Then Professor Fitch made a short hobbling prayer—in worse style than either of the other performances. Then another anthem was sung, decently. Then Professor Fitch delivered a dull, cold, labored sermon, in wretched style. Then President Day made a tolerable prayer. And last, the choir sung a diddling hymn—and Professor Fitch ended with a sort of benediction.

Again, while visiting at the house of the Rector of St. John's Church, in Providence,

June 15, 1822. Mr. Crocker asked me to attend a prayer-meeting of Mr. Maffit's (the strolling Irish methodist), in the lecture-room of Mr. Wilson's (congregational) meeting-house. I declined—but finding the family all on a tip-toe to go—I changed my mind and went. This lecture-room is the underground story of a very large meeting-house—the ceiling low—the walls and floor dirty—the whole very dark—and the air close and offensive. Into this den an immense crowd followed the miserable adventurer, who had set the town agog by his vapid attempts to preach the gospel. People of wealth and fashion, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, were here huddled together. The desk was occupied by Maffitt, Mr. Taft, minister of the Episcopal Church at Patucket, a young baptist preacher, and a methodist preacher. This prayer-meeting was opened with a hymn, which was followed by a short exhortation from Maffitt. Then he sang a song, of his own composition, tune and all, alone, in a soft, sweet strain which seemed to produce a wonderful effect upon his female auditors, who languished as he languished and responded sighs to his sweet notes. Then Maffitt prayed in the language of the liturgy, for a few minutes. Then he sang again. Then the baptist exhorted, the methodist prayed, Maffitt sang, and the rest joined him. He closed with another exhortation, and a hymn, in true methodist style—and thus ended a prayer-meeting, in a cellar, attended by the Rector of St. John's Church, Providence, and his lady, the Rev. Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Brown University, in episcopal orders, and the Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, who blushes to his fingers' ends on his recording this instance of his departing from a conscientious sense of duty, from mere complaisance to the good people with whom he staid.

Again,

March 9, 1825. Having received an invitation to attend the ceremony of installing the Rev. Leonard Bacon over the first congregational society in this city—went to the meeting-house at ½ past 10. Service commenced at 11. Sermon, by Mr. Hawes, very good. Charge, by Mr. Taylor, very bad. Right hand of fellowship, by Mr. Merwin, no better. Singing flat. Was invited to dinner, but had to attend a funeral.

Then, two weeks later,

March 22, 1825. Called to see Mr. Bacon, the new congregational minister of the 1st Society in this city. He is, to all appearance, a pleasant young

man—but, I should think, unequal to the task which he has undertaken. Time will show.

Again,

June 3, 1835. Went to Captain Goodrich's, by invitation, to see his daughter married by Mr. Bacon to Frederick Uhlhorn. A splendid wedding. After the ceremony, took my cake and wine, and then took my leave, as I had no desire to meet the throng of company invited at a later hour. Mr. Bacon has improved the mode of conducting a marriage, since I have witnessed one, as performed in the Presbyterian way. But it is still a meagre service.

July 10, 1829. At 3 P. M. went by invitation to the Dedication of the new congregational meeting-house [on Court Street]. It was a shabby concern—all the exercises being meagre and spiritless, with the exception of the sermon by Mr. Bacon, which was probably none of *his* best. President Day began by reading a portion of scripture, gathered partly from the Chronicles, and partly from Solomon's dedication prayer, but without any intimation from whence he was reading. It was all continued on, as if nothing intervened—and Solomon's prayer was used with omissions, till he got to the middle—and then he stopped, and gave out a hymn of eight verses. This being all sung out, with the congregation sitting—Professor Fitch made one of his long hitching prayers, with no other difference, only that he began by substituting a wretched imitation of Dr. Barber's drawling for his native grunt [Dr. Barber being a teacher of elocution]. This was followed by another singing, and the sermon—and then another prayer, by a strange clergyman, and another hymn. The main body of the house was filled with ladies, the galleries with men and boys, the platform under the pulpit with deacons—one of whom slept quietly through the whole concern, in which exercise he was devoutly followed by more than one of the fair sex—and I could not blame them. About five ministers were in the pulpit—which Professor Fitch was particular to dedicate, together with the seats,—but nothing else.

May 10, 1821. Passed round to the North-West corner of the Green, where the Methodists were laying the corner-stone of their new meeting-house [on the Green]. Like a presbyterian dedication, it was a formless jumble of exercises, consisting of singing three hymns, making a prayer, and delivering an address, all carried on by their minister, Mr. Thatcher. The corner-stone, however, instead of being the top of the corner, was the first stone laid in the foundation, several feet under ground! On this stone, and in this awkward situation, the little minister performed his several parts—speaking, not as out of a tub, but as if immersed in a cistern—the people standing in the deep trenches, or on the banks, or on the piles of lumber and stone with which the place was encumbered. He discharged the office, however, with a considerable degree of propriety—and with a zeal and enthusiasm peculiar to his sect. The Methodists had been violently opposed by the Presbyterians in their project of erecting this house in so public a place—but this had in no wise disheartened them; and their opponents, finding force ineffectual, had resorted to softer means, and had finally offered them a sum of money, say about $1200, to induce them to select a more retired spot. This was resented, and the work pushed with renewed ardor. The house will stand within two or three hundred feet of the Meeting-House of the United Society, and about an equal distance from

the dwelling-house of the President of Yale College. No wonder, therefore, that the Presbyterians are opposed to the erection.

Without further multiplication of such passages, I pass to other phases of his disapproval of the manifestations of sectarian activity.

July 19, 1821. Abigail Heaton called to talk with me on the subject of her joining a missionary family to go to the Sandwich Islands (one among the latest of the sectarian schemes). She is an excellent, pious, and warm-hearted girl, who has been persuaded by the arts of Presbyterians to believe, that it is her duty to sacrifice herself to the visionary object of civilizing and then Christianizing the natives of these islands. The plain English of the business is—that a number of indigent young men have been gratuitously educated by the Presbyterians for the purpose of going on foreign missions. But, timid souls, the terrors of such a mission as their employers demand are too great, unless the girls will go with them! . . . Lord help us! what are we coming to? As Miss Heaton is a fine girl, and a very worthy communicant of the Church, . . . I am satisfied that it is my duty to endeavour to rescue her from the snare thus laid for her by a set of men, possessing more than Jesuitical cunning.

April 25, 1822. Spent the evening at Mr. Heaton's, where there was half a dozen of their friends. Here I was informed of another of the ten thousand schemes which are invented to draw Churchmen into allegiance with schismatics. Mr. Heaton had been invited by the Presbyterian ladies to join them in a society for converting the Jews! When will this shameful ostentation cease?

July 11, 1823. Attended a meeting of a few gentlemen at Hitchcock's office, at the request of Judge White, for the purpose of making some arrangements for re-organizing a Bible Society, auxiliary to the National Bible Society. Found Theodore Dwight from New York, President Day, Mr. Merwin, Mr. Luckey, and Judge White, besides Mr. Hitchcock. Dwight asserted that agents were coming from New York to attend to the business, and wished a meeting to be notified on Tuesday evening next, in the newspapers and in the pulpits. He pretended that Dr. Lyell [a New York rector] was coming among the agents. Having seen the pill well sugared over in this way, I very deliberately entered into an explanation of my reasons for declining to promote the object, either directly or indirectly, grounded generally upon the impropriety of attempting to amalgamate religious denominations, &c.

Other passages show how the author allowed his surmises of sectarian politics and of mixed motives to govern him also in the field of humanitarian effort.

December 13, 1829. Preached my new re-written sermon, on intolerance and bigotry, from Romans xiv, 4, "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant," &c. It had been preached for the last time twelve years ago—and as I altered the text and the matter, nobody dreamed of its being re-written—especially as it was supposed to have a bearing on certain transactions now in progress. The Congregationalists have entered into a combination to denounce and proscribe every man, woman, and child, who will not subscribe to the total abstinence system.

June 8, 1855. A young man came, to get subscribers for Maine-law publications, and gave me an opportunity to express my opinions on the whole fanatical concern.

January 8, 1830. Wrote a note to Professor Goodrich, declining his invitation to attend a meeting to be held this evening at the "Middle Brick," to get up a fever about the Georgia Indians [that is, for the protection of the Cherokees in retaining their lands]. . . . [Added later:] A large meeting assembled, as I understand; and Professor Goodrich took occasion to say, that there was no political motive in the business; it was a grand Christian scheme, &c.

June 22, 1854. Had all sorts of calls in the morning. Among others, a black man seeking aid to buy his family, out of slavery, into poverty and misery. Treated him kindly, and sent him to the abolitionists.

July 24, 1855. Spent a portion of the forenoon, in preparing a brief and pungent reply to the circular received yesterday from the New England Emigrant Aid Company, to be enclosed in an envelope, already stamped, and directed to Rev. E. E. Hale, of Worcester. An impudent attempt to draw me into a political crusade against the admission of Kansas, &c.

As a contrast to the picture quoted above, of a corner-stone service by Methodists, I cite the description of the ceremony, eight years later, when what we know as St. Paul's Church was begun:—

Saturday, April 8, 1829. A fine day—and a proud and splendid day for the Churchmen of New Haven. The Corner-stone of the new Chapel was to be laid in the afternoon—and a considerable part of the forenoon was taken up in preparation. Opened Trinity Church at 1 o'clock, and admitted the Sunday School. The congregation collected at 2. Mr. Hawks [the assistant minister] read a selection of service for the occasion, highly appropriate. A procession was then formed—Sunday-School first—singers—Wardens and Vestry—Building Committee—Contractors—Clergy—Officiating Clergy—and then citizens, etc., a street full. The clergy of other denominations had been invited—and a part of them attended, with President Day at their head. On coming to the foundation of the new chapel, Psalms selected were read in appropriate responses—then a Hymn sung—then the stone was laid by me—then Mr. Hawks read a prayer—and I closed with a spirited address, which the puritans won't forget in a hurry.

For sixteen years St. Paul's Chapel was administered in conjunction with Trinity Church by the Rector and his assistants; and it was only after a long and hard-fought struggle, in which Dr. Croswell was worsted, that an independent church was organized. The Diary for March 23, 1845, tells the result:—

Pleasant as the day was . . . it had many painful associations, for to-morrow the parish meeting is to decide the question on the division of the parish —and doubtless in favor of the suicidal measure.

The error in the gloomy prophecy of the last words recalls an earlier instance of similar perverseness, respecting the destiny of

what is now Trinity College, which Dr. Croswell had tried hard to secure for New Haven:—

May 6, 1824. The Trustees of Washington College met in New Haven this day, and after some discussion, fixed the location of that Institution in Hartford—a location which will probably prove fatal to the interests of the institution.

These instances of defeated plans suggest what was Dr. Croswell's outstanding fault of temperament, and none the less so, although, so far as the Diary reveals, it was one of which he was utterly unconscious. While gracious and affable in ordinary intercourse, he showed himself in more serious matters of policy, where opinions differed, strong-willed, self-sufficient, and autocratic, particularly in official relations with his assistants and his vestry, and was often unjust and severe in his reflections on those who were not willingly subservient to his purposes.

He had a genuine interest in the prosperity of New Haven; but was chary, doubtless from convictions of duty, of giving public expression to his views on any local measure which might possibly make differences in the parish through sectarian or political controversy, while at the same time indulging in the freest criticism on the pages of his Diary. An early specimen of such criticism occurs in his notes on the removal of the stones from the old burying-ground, in the centre of the public Green, in 1821:—

May 22. Amid the cares and duties which necessarily devolve upon me, it is my lot to be vexed and troubled with the endless schemes of sectarians to draw me into responsibilities which may affect my popularity and diminish my usefulness. Some time last season, a scheme was set on foot to get rid of the monuments and grave stones in the old burying-ground. It being a very tender subject, the promoters of the scheme were under the necessity of proceeding cautiously—and they accordingly caused a town-meeting to be called, and a committee was appointed to propose plans to effect the object. I cannot recollect the course which the affair took in all its details—but the result was, the appointment of a committee to carry a certain plan into effect. I heard a rumor at the time, that all the clergymen of the city were placed on that committee, for the purpose of giving a sanction to the proposed measure. But I received no notice of the appointment, nor was I called upon to meet with them. Last week, however, a notice appeared in the newspapers, stating that this committee being now ready to proceed to the removal, would delay till the 20th of the month, to give to any person so disposed, an opportunity to remove the tombstones or remains of their friends to their private lots in the new burying-ground. At the same time, Abraham Bishop, Esq., called upon me with an address which he had written to be delivered at one of the meeting-houses on the occasion of the removal, and which he wished me to peruse and return to him this day. He partially disclosed the scheme—and common report furnished me with the rest. The committee, it seems,

consisted of James Hillhouse, Esq., Abraham Bishop, Esq., William Mix, Esq., and the four clergymen of the city—that is, one Churchman, two Congregationalists, and one Methodist—the laymen of the Committee being all Congregationalists. This committee, or in other words Mr. Hillhouse, by the help of Mr. Bishop, had agreed to purchase of the said Mr. Hillhouse a piece of waste land, near the new burying-grounds in the suburbs of the town, at a most enormous price [$280 an acre] and to cause all the remaining gravestones to be removed thither, and set up in the ground in due order, about a mile from the place where the bodies were deposited! . . . To a project so ridiculous it only remained to obtain the sanction of the ministers, and then the projectors flattered themselves that everything would go down smoothly with the people—a calculation too often made with great success. I resolved, however, to improve the first opportunity that had been afforded me, of washing my hands of any participation in the measure. I stood alone, as the sole representative of the largest religious society in town,—I had no concern in the affair,—had no connections in the burying-ground—and had a very unfavorable opinion of the plan.

Again, a month later,

June 26. At 8 o'clock in the morning, the bells began to ring for the grand parade of removing the old burying-ground—that is, for preparing the public mind for the removal of the grave-stones. The people assembled at Mr. Taylor's meeting-house, and a course of services were performed in this wise—Singing—prayer by Mr Merwin, giving a detailed account of many things of which he supposed the people were ignorant, but of which he could not have supposed the Being whom he affected to address was ignorant—singing again—then Mr. Hill, the baptist minister, performed the dignified office of reading Mr. Bishop's address. He strutted in his borrowed plumes, and put on such a pompous air as to render this part of the exhibition ridiculous. He was followed by Mr. Thatcher, the methodist minister, who laid out the ground for a long extempore address—but observing, before he was through with his exordium, that the people were withdrawing, he very abruptly broke off. . . . After singing once more, Mr. Taylor made the concluding prayer. Mr. Hillhouse, with some hired labourers, now proceeded to the burying-ground, and began to pull down the old grave-stones, and the work is to proceed until they are all removed. These circumstances are detailed by others, for, instead of being present, I visited Nancy Bonticou, &c.

I may trespass on your time to add a few other notes relating to special localities or more general incidents.

September 9, 1825. . . . Stopped a momnt at Mrs. Sanford's. . . . Walked on, it being a delightful morning, taking the powder-house road [*i. e.*, Prospect Street] till I came to the forest about Hillhouse's avenue—crossed the avenue which I now saw in its whole extent for the first time.

He probably refers to the view from the cleared space on which the Hillhouse mansion was built a little later; the avenue itself had long been known.

May 6, 1826. This day the canal-commissioners decided on the route of the Canal through the city, taking the middle or Creek-route—a question which has excited much interest in the town.

Two other routes had been especially talked of,—one issuing through Brewery Street to Long Wharf, and one coming out next to Tomlinson Bridge.

February 19, 1828. Towards noon it was announced that the Canal was full of water—and at 3 in the afternoon a boat was put afloat, and was lifted up all the locks in town, passing through the whole length of the Canal to the basin of Mr. Hillhouse, and returning to the last level. The crowd to witness this first exhibition was immense, and filled the town with joy, the bells rang, cannons fired, &c.

March 18, 1839. Was called to visit a poor sick woman at Barnesville [*i. e.*, Fair Haven], and just as I left her the Steam Boat arrived and I stopped to see for the first time the train of railroad cars start off. It was but a small train, but it went off in good style.

Daily trains had been running from New Haven to Meriden since the 1st of January.

His first embarkation on a railroad had been three and a half years earlier, in New York City, when he wrote:

August 18, 1835. We had barely time to get on board the rail-road line for Philadelphia. . . . This was my first experience on rail-roads—and the first sensations were very singular. I could not at first divest myself of the idea, that we were drawn by a team of horses upon the full run—but I soon became accustomed to it, and felt perfectly at ease.

Of the conditions of travel on foot at that day, a single citation will represent what those whose memory goes back before the Civil War can recall:—

January 26, 1839. A most tempestuous North East rain storm. After praying with the Superior Court undertook to get to the Post Office [that is, from Temple St. to the railroad cut] but the rain came in torrents, and I found Chapel Street so flooded, that is was impossible to get along without going deeper than my overshoes would warrant, and so I gave it up.

I quote but one more narrative—that of the commemoration in 1838 of the founding of the town:—

Wednesday, April 25. This day being fixed upon by the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the settlement of New Haven, it was turned into a gala-day, and many fantastic pranks were performed, official and non-official. Ringing of bells and firing of cannon opened and closed the day. A procession was formed at 9 A. M. at the State House, consisting of everybody and everybody's children, and escorted by two military companies and a band of music. This body

moved to the corner of College and George Streets, where the Pilgrims held their first meeting, under an oak—and here were prayers and singing—and then proceeded round the original squares, and returned to the Center meeting-house, where they had religious services, and a historical discourse by Professor Kingsley. I had been invited to take part in these exercises, but declined, and Mr. Bennett [the Assistant Minister] was called in to fill the gap. I had a quiet forenoon at home.

From these somewhat rambling excursions into the Diary I return to the expression in a more general way of the light on Dr. Croswell's character and influence, to be gathered from his writings. The lapse of nearly sixty years since his death has left with us scarcely any who can testify from mature and intimate recollection of what he was in private intercourse, and what his standards and purposes were, as shown in the direct results of his prolonged ministry. But the Diary reveals, beyond what his contemporaries witnessed or imagined, the mental habit and springs of action of the author.

He was not what we call a good judge of men, and his record bristles with hasty estimates, both favorable and unfavorable— to be followed later by virtual retractions and revisions of opinion; but I think I am not mistaken in inferring that his severest criticisms were those of the pen, while in personal intercourse with his fellowmen he was uniformly genial and overflowing with practical beneficence. With regard to this last trait, it is evident that, like the rest of his generation, he observed none of the methods of our modern Organized Charities. Beggars thronged his door, and found him the easiest of prey, while fully aware of his own weakness.

His standard of duty to his own people was extraordinarily high. The constantly recurring opportunities of intellectual and social recreation in a University town were resolutely and consistently set aside, on principle, for the sake of the commonplace offices incumbent on the chief pastor of a large city parish, in which the poor and the friendless were always the major and the more appealing part. In his conception of the Christian ministry, here lay his strength and his special call to service. To this work he had consecrated in a characteristically matter-of-fact way all his powers of mind and body; he had no ambition for place or power in any wider sphere; but in his own province he brooked no interference and allowed no rival. To the last week of his life he kept in his own hands all the details of his official charge, and fulfilled his ideal of the rectorship of Trinity Church, without fear or favor, under responsibility to no one but his Divine Master.

THE REMOVAL OF YALE COLLEGE TO NEW HAVEN IN OCTOBER, 1716.

[From the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Vol. IX. Read October, 1916.] The Club. Nov 8. 1916 (His last paper read at Club)

In these passing days we have all been hearing and seeing so much of the history of the Collegiate School of Connecticut, that it may be rash to attack so well-worn a theme from any additional point of view; but it is certainly fitting that the Colony Historical Society should take its part in commemorating such an anniversary as this, and I have been called to the duty of spokesman. It is obvious that no new material can be discovered at so late an hour: I can merely challenge your interest in a plain restatement of some of the historical data, in such form as the special occasion may suggest.

In every rehearsal of these events, emphasis is primarily and justly laid on the fact that the founders of this Colony included a College in their original plans; it is also noteworthy that the language in which this intention was expressed anticipated the phrases to which we are accustomed as the chosen embodiment of the Yale idea in modern days.

It may be worth while to expand this assertion by recalling certain significant passages in the history of the earliest plan for higher education in New Haven.

First of all, in the revision of the town statutes, in February, 1645, not yet seven years after the beginning of the settlement, among other provisions which it is explained had already been agreed upon, but by oversight had not been put on record, "It is ordered that a free school be set up, for the better training up of youth in this town, that through God's blessing they may be fitted for public service hereafter, either in church or commonwealth." The phraseology was undoubtedly John Davenport's, though not necessarily original with him, and was frequently re-echoed in his public utterances.

Three years later, in March, 1648, the General Court of the Colony took the first active steps towards setting up a college in New Haven: but necessary funds were lacking, until the will of Governor Edward Hopkins, whose wife was a daughter of the wife of Governor Eaton, offered in 1657 a prospect of endowment.

In May, 1659, therefore, with a view of securing a share in this bequest, the General Court, in Davenport's language again, "looking upon it as their great duty to establish some course that through the blessing of God learning may be promoted in the Jurisdiction as a means for the fitting of instruments for public service in Church and Commonwealth, did order that 40 pounds a year shall be paid by the treasurer for the furtherance of a grammer school."

A year later, Davenport, as the trustee, to whom the portion of the Hopkins bequest intended for New Haven had been paid, in offering to turn over the trust to the General Court of the Colony, described the design as being "that a small college (such as the day of small things will permit) should be settled in New Haven for the education of youth in good literature, to fit them for public services in church and commonwealth." And again, in April, 1664, the Colony having failed to put this design into effect, Davenport offered the same trust to the town of New Haven, "to be improved," in his own language, "to that end for which it was given by Mr. Hopkins, viz., to fit youth (by learning) for the service of God in church and commonwealth."

This, of course was the origin of the Hopkins Grammar School, with which Davenport's connection ceased in 1668, when he removed to Boston; but he left on file in our records a formal deed of trust of the legacy from which he had expected so much, declaring it to be "for the encouragement and breeding up of hopeful youths, both at the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country in these foreign plantations."

With this message Davenport passes out of our history; but the principle which he had labored to implant was not entirely lost sight of; and so, a generation later, when a little company of Connecticut ministers, mainly from the seaside townships, took up anew his project of " a small college," it was a happy and not undeserved coincidence that James Pierpont, then occupying Davenport's pulpit, was in the forefront of the movement, and suggested to the trained counsellors who drew up the Charter of 1701 a reproduction of Davenport's phraseology, in the incorporation of "a Collegiate School wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who through the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for public employment both in Church and Civil State." And thus the spirit of John Davenport and of New Haven was to a certain extent a part of Yale College from its beginning; and it is pleasant to find among the documents which antedate the charter, unmistakable evidence that New Haven was at the time suggested as the ideal place for the College. But, so far as can now be seen, no pressure

was brought to bear at that date by Pierpont or by any other representative of the town to influence the deliberating Trustees to install the proposed school here, rather than in Saybrook, or Middletown, or Hartford, or Milford, or Stratford, each of which places had some fair claim for consideration.

The extant records of these deliberations are consecutive and distinct enough to justify the conviction that the preliminary conferences of the ministers concerned were thoroughly amicable, and that Saybrook was agreed upon with substantial unanimity as being the most fairly acceptable compromise for the various interests involved.

By 1716, however, the case had materially altered. For a good part of the intervening period Saybrook had been obliged to share with its next-door neighbor, little Killingworth, whatever prestige or advantage there was in haboring the Collegiate School; while for the rest of the time the lack of a settled rector, and the death of the venerable parish minister (Thomas Buckingham) who had been the local center of authority and influence for over forty years, had kept down the School to a discouragingly low level of achievement and even of promise. Meantime New Haven had outstripped Hartford as the leading town of the Colony in numbers and in prosperity; while several of its more thrifty neighbors, such as Fairfield, Stratford, Milford, and Guilford, had grown faster than the other plantations of like history, eastwards or inland, and exercised a proportionately greater influence. In recognition of this development the General Court, which met in May and October annually, had resolved in 1713 to hold its autumn sessions henceforth in New Haven; and this action should be noted as one factor in determining the removal hither in 1716.

The changes in the composition of the Board of Trustees since 1701 were also of significance in this crisis. The three men who had been most prominent in shaping the early policy of the institution were Abraham Pierson of Killingworth, Thomas Buckingham of Saybrook, and James Pierpont of New Haven; but these were now all dead,—besides two others who had taken no special part in College matters, Mr. Chauncy of Stratford and Mr. Russel of Middletown—leaving as the one strong survivor among the trustees named in the charter the elderly pastor of the First Church in Hartford, Timothy Woodbridge, who had been kept by illness and absence in Boston from active participation in the deliberations of 1701, but who now stood ready to interpose his aggressive and dominating personality in antagonism to the prevailing judgment of the seaside trustees.

Of the recent accessions to the board the most notable were John Davenport of Stamford, a grandson of the original John and nephew of Rector Pierson, and Thomas Buckingham, minister of the Second Church in Hartford, and nephew of the Saybrook trustee of the same name. In the struggle which ensued, resulting in removal to New Haven, Mr. Davenport was chief spokesman of the victorious party; while Mr. Buckingham stood as the sole supporter of his townsman, Mr. Woodbridge, in advocacy of an inland location for the College.

But Mr. Pierpont's death had still another bearing on the controversy. His place in the New Haven pulpit had not been easily filled, and finally the choice of a successor had narrowed down to two young Saybrook graduates,—Samuel Cooke and Joseph Noyes. Mr. Cooke was already a prominent figure in the town. He had been for eight years Rector of the Hopkins Grammar School, and during the last six sessions of the General Assembly one of the Deputies from New Haven. He had also married early into the locally prominent and wealthy Trowbridge family.

Mr. Noyes on the other hand had the prestige of being a son of one of the oldest and most eminent ministers of the Colony, and after a successful tutorship at Saybrook was now being sought as colleague to his father. Finally Mr. Noyes was chosen, in July, 1715; and his acceptance turned out to be an additional factor of importance in behalf of New Haven as the site of the college. In proof of this it is necessary only to recall the circumstances of the eventful meeting of eight of the ten living trustees in New Haven on Wednesday, the 17th of October, 1716. Besides the formal record of this meeting, we have a brief narrative of what occurred, apparently written a few months later by Joseph Noyes, the newly ordained minister He sets down first the convincing argument of figures, stating that Hartford county had offered to give 6 or 700 pounds for the college, if settled there, and that New Haven donations given and offered amounted to 1600 pounds. Five trustees then voted for New Haven,—Andrew of Milford, Webb of Fairfield, Russel of Branford, Ruggles of Guilford, and Davenport of Stamford; while the two Hartford ministers voted in the negative. The moderator, Moses Noyes of Lyme, an uncle of the New Haven minister, declared, as the record says, that "he doth not see the necessity of removing the School from Saybrook, but if it must be removed, his mind is that it be settled at New Haven," or, as Joseph Noyes's account puts it, "Rev. Mr. Noyes of Lyme was silent after his nephew was settled at New Haven." The absent trustees were James Noyes of Stonington and Samuel Mather of Windsor.

To quote Joseph Noyes again, "Mr. Mather was disabled by illness, but had by letter to Rev. Mr. Pierpont formerly," that is, in 1701, "signified his approbation of New Haven. And Mr. Noyes of Stonington gave certain intimations of his mind for New Haven," as reported, perhaps by letter, "and afterwards signed the doings of the Trustees", in token of his approval.

The choice, then, of Joseph Noyes for the New Haven pulpit was immediately justified; if his rival, Samuel Cooke, had been preferred, it is at least doubtful whether the event which we now commemorate could have occurred in 1716. He would have brought no special claim of influence over individual trustees, nor so good a prospect of usefulness as an assistant in instruction and oversight as that which his competitor enjoyed. It may be conceded that Pastor Noyes did not prove ultimately an eminent theologian or a productive scholar; but a study of his portrait, hanging on our walls, gives an impression of buoyant and sanguine youthfulness, though the hair is silvered, and justifies, I have always fancied, the promise of his earlier manhood.

And what of the New Haven to which the Collegiate School came in October, 1716? The plantation had been in existence for three-quarters of a century, and the children of the first-comers who survived were now mostly in advanced years. A daughter-in-law of John Davenport still occupied the old Davenport mansion, on the present site of the Presbyterian Church on Elm Street. On the opposite side of the road one or two grandchildren still kept a foothold on the estate of Governor Eaton; while the family of Elihu Yale, Mrs. Eaton's grandson, who was destined to take so conspicuous a part in the College history, was also represented just below at the corner of State Street by a first cousin, the wife of Samuel Bishop. And a considerable list might easily be named of other elderly residents whose recollections must have included distinct impressions of the early years of the settlement and of the men and women who were leaders in it.

There is no reason, however, to suppose that traditions of Davenport's purpose of "a small College" still lingered here to any such extent as to affect public policy: there were no persons of outstanding influence who would have been the natural channels of such tradition, or strong enough to ensure their wider acceptance, and local pride had found a sufficient reward in the modest growth of the Hopkins Grammar School.

The population of the compact portion of the town was probably not much over 700; while the membership of the First Church (still the only church in the whole territory, except that recently

organized in East Haven village) was not far from 300. The entire community conformed to one system of religious belief, and probably at this date there was not within the town limits a single adherent of the Church of England, any more than of the Church of Rome, or of the Jewish Synagogue.

The community was also in the main socially homogeneous, much more so than at the beginning, when the distinctions of wealth and blood brought with the emigrants from the mother country, were sharply drawn and recognized; neither was the town dominated by any commanding personalities, as in the first generation.

Besides the new minister, who was only 28, there were two other Saybrook graduates living in the town plot:—John Prout, Junior, 27 years old, a rising business man on lower State Street and Naval officer of the Port, and Daniel Browne, Junior, in his 19th year, who had lately been promoted from the rank of assistant-master to that of rector of the Grammar School, in succession to Mr. Cooke, who had just been ordained pastor of what is now the First Church in Bridgeport, having sold his house on Elm Street, opposite the Davenport mansion, to Mr. Noyes, who was about to be married to a daughter of the late minister, Mr. Pierpont. Browne himself was a native of the village of the West Side, now the borough of West Haven, and had a younger brother to whom we owe a detailed map of New Haven as it was in 1724, an invaluable document for our early history. In addition to these three graduates, living in the centre of the town, there were Jacob Heminway, the minister to his kinsfolk and neighbors in East Haven, a graduate of 1704, and Daniel Elmer of 1713, who was preaching temporarily for the "West farmers," who had taken steps for gathering a church, but were not yet able to do so. Of the five thus noted, Heminway, Prout and Browne were the only New Haveners who had been sent to Saybrook since the Collegiate School began, and during that period none of their townsmen had been educated at Harvard; in the same time there had been trained at Saybrook an equal number of Hartford boys, and thrice that number from Saybrook itself.

There was also in New Haven a solitary Harvard graduate, Warham Mather, 50 years of age, of the best Massachusetts blood, an uncle of Jonathan Edwards, but, although a man of undoubted ability, not much of a success in life. He had failed in his chosen vocation of preaching, and his wife being a daughter of the Madam Davenport who was spending her last years in the family home on Elm Street, they had come here to live with and care for her, while he divided most of his time between amateur medical practice (in which line he had no competitor) and public business as a side-

judge of the county court and (subsequently) judge of probate. He filled a rather prominent place in the community, more perhaps owing to a dearth of leaders than to the eminence of his own powers.

These four men, then, Mather, Prout, Noyes, and Browne, stood for the higher education in the New Haven town plot of 1716; and ranking with them in dignity and influence were such official persons as John Punderson and Abraham Bradley, the two ancient deacons of the Church; John Alling, judge of the probate court, who became also treasurer of the Collegiate School; Samuel Bishop, who shared with Dr. Mather and Deacon Bradley the station of assistant judge of the county court; Joseph Whiting, captain of the local militia; and Sergeant Abraham Dickerman, the first townsman or selectman.

The majority of the community comprised the customary assortment of active or retired farmers, traders, artisans, seafaring men, voluntary servants, and a small number of negro slaves from the West Indies; there were also perhaps an even smaller number of half-civilized Indians, besides the feeble remnant of a settlement of the Quinnipiac tribe in the East Haven region. There were few persons of more than the average amount of estate; few dependants on charity; and tramps were then and for a century longer almost wholly unknown. The nucleus of the original planters had been a small group of rich London merchants, who had brought with them a staff of inferior retainers, in the expectation of erecting here a state of society, modeled after that in the old country, with marked divisions of standing and culture, in one compact feudal community. As it was speedily found that this expectation was fallacious, this humbler class was colonized on some of the farming lands in the outlying edges of the town, which were in 1716 just developing into independent villages.

When the pioneers of New Haven sailed up in 1638 the West Creek, then navigable at least to the foot of College Street (a creek which was long traceable to the north of Chapel Street, just beyond Park), with admirable foresight they employed one of their number, John Brockett, who had some experience as a surveyor, to lay out a plot, of nine equal squares, the meeting-house green or market-place being the central one. The lines of this plot were determined by the two creeks on the George Street and State Street borders, with one unfortunate result, that the streets bounding the nine squares, being laid out parallel to these creeks, are hopelessly out of relation to the cardinal points of the compass. We are accustomed, to be sure, to ignore this patent irregularity, and always speak for instance of Elm Street as the northern boundary of the Green; but the earlier land records do not observe any rule on this head, and are nearly as

apt to describe a lot on the Chapel Street side of Elm Street, for instance, as bounded on the west by the highway, as they are to say bounded on the south.

Within these limits, then, of George, York, Grove, and State Streets (the intermediate streets being then and until after the Revolution mostly unopened), and on the outlying roads leading towards the harbor and the country (Water Street, Meadow Street, Commerce Street, Broad Street, Broadway and Whitney Avenue), the main body of the townsfolk dwelt; and until the College fostered a new centre of life and interest, the principal activities of the settlement were gathered about State Street and the water front, which then of course and for one hundred and fifty years later began at what is now Water Street.

The Green had upon it four public buildings. First, the wooden meeting-house, built on ground a little to the east and south of the present Centre Church in 1670, and continued in use during practically the entire ministries of Nicholas Street, James Pierpont and Joseph Noyes. The area was about sixty by fifty-five feet, with three entrances on the eastern front, two on the north, and two on the south. The pulpit was placed originally at the west end, as in the modern church, facing two tiers of benches, those on the northern side for women, and those on the southern for men. Influential people had been allowed by the town to build private pews on the north and south walls; and when more room had recently become necessary, it had been gained by pushing out the western wall twenty-five feet further, leaving the pulpit where it was, and filling the added floor-space behind it with more private pews, facing the main congregation. There were also put at the western end stairways leading to the back and side galleries, and at the northeast and southeast corners stairs to the large front gallery, in which henceforth the College was to hire sittings for graduate and undergraduate students. Even with these additions the house was hardly sufficient for the demands upon it, until relieved by the establishment of worship in East Haven, North Haven and West Haven; but, however inadequate, it was destined to remain for forty years longer, and to serve, not only as the place for religious assemblage, but also, until a Court House was built south of it in 1719, as the forum for transacting all civic business, in the public town-meetings and in the general court of the Colony and subordinate courts. The graves of the forefathers were scattered irregularly in the proximity of the meeting-house to the west and north, those still to be seen in the crypt under the Centre Church showing what was the former level of the ground in that vicinity.

The minor structures on the Green comprised a small building used as a jail, on College Street, perhaps somewhere nearly opposite the present Lawrance Hall: another smaller one, a little further north, used as a shelter for the night-watch; and an old building on Elm Street, about where the United Church now stands, in which the Grammar School was kept. Such were the only public buildings of the town.

One striking advantage of New Haven in comparison with other sites proposed for the College was the sightliness and amplitude of the meeting-house green; and steps were taken at once by the Trustees, after October, 1716, for the purchase of land for a building in a situation commanding this fair prospect. Such was found in the lot of one and a quarter acres on the corner of College and Chapel Streets, being the space now occupied by Osborn Hall, the adjoining wing of Vanderbilt Hall, Connecticut Hall, and about one-half of Welch Hall,—a lot, which had been bequeathed by Mrs. Esther Coster some twenty-five years earlier to the First Church, to be improved for the encouragement of religion and learning by the maintenance of a semi-annual lecture. These lectures had been held in Mr. Pierpont's day in the spring and fall of each year, and had been made more important by the custom of using such occasions for the formal admission of members to the church. On the Chapel Street side of the Coster lot stood an old dwelling house, built by one of the first comers, but now so dilapidated as to produce no income for the lecture fund. The Church, therefore, as allowed by the donor's will, and in furtherance of the declared object of the trust, conveyed the property in 1717, to the College authorities, for 26 pounds, about one-fourth of the price which Mrs. Coster had paid in 1686.

But it should also be remembered that the removal to New Haven was ensured by the liberal offers of real and personal estate from public and private sources. Thus, the Proprietors of common and undivided town lands gave to the College eight unimproved acres (about half the size of the Green) in the quarter to the north westwards of the town-plot, near enough to be long utilized as pasture for the President's cow, of which ownership the memory is still preserved in the name of University Place, opening out of Whalley Avenue.

It is a pleasure to commemorate also the names of some of the more notably generous donors of land or money, such as Joseph Peck, Ebenezer Mansfield, Mary Trowbridge, Richard Sperry, Senior, and four of his sons, Thomas Hitchcock, Thomas Holt, William Hotchkiss, John Morris, John Mix, Samuel Ives, James

Gibbs, Nathaniel Yale (of North Haven, a first cousin of Elihu), John Bassett, John Glover, and Samuel Burwell.

Of the New Haven of 1716 the more striking natural features are all that remain. Of buildings then standing, the only one left, now or at any time within recent memory, is the frame of an ancient house, with wholly reconstructed exterior, on Meadow Street, in the rear of a brick block on this side of the Armory, which was then the residence of Lieutenant Stephen Trowbridge.

Into this community the Collegiate School, or rather a fragment of it, was brought in 1716; and what was then the Collegiate School?

It had a background of six formative years in Killingworth, followed (after Rector Pierson's death) by nine lean years in Saybrook. During these fifteen years the degree of Bachelor of Arts had been given in course to fifty-five persons, all but one of whom were still living. The average age at the time of admission had been about sixteen years,—the two extremes in this respect having been Henry Willes, who entered at twenty-one, and Daniel Browne, who entered at twelve and a half. Of the graduates, about two-thirds had given themselves to the ministry, and more than a score of this number were now improved in Connecticut parishes. Three or four were temporarily at least teachers, and about a dozen had settled down in civil life within the Colony limits.

None of the little group could have been expected to reach as yet distinction; though it included young men with such capacities as Dr. Jared Eliot, of Killingworth, one of the earliest scientific lights of New England, Jonathan Dickinson, the first president of Princeton, and Samuel Johnson, first president of Columbia.

Neither was there in the baker's dozen of undergraduates who assembled here in October, 1716, more than one who attained eminence,—the exception being the English-born William Smith (the only Sophomore), who rose to the headship of the New York bar, and declined the place of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province. But a greater than he, Jonathan Edwards, was now a Freshman in the rival camp of seceded students at Wethersfield, who later transferred himself to New Haven, in time for graduation and a tutorship, and for finding here a bride in the person of the saintly daughter of Madam Pierpont, in the former parsonage on Elm Street, where Temple Street now enters the Green.

Eminence, however, was hardly to be expected in such a homespun group, as is evident in comparison with the much longer list of Bachelors of Arts at Harvard College from 1702 to 1716; out of their total of 174 names, those that are now best known are only such as Edward Holyoke, a President of Harvard, Elisha Williams,

Rector of Yale, Thomas Prince, the Boston antiquary, and Benning Wentworth, Royal Governor of New Hampshire; while of the perhaps eighty undergraduates who made up President Leverett's flock in Cambridge in October, 1716, there is not a single name that has now anything beyond the most limited local familiarity.

As a place of study the College in 1716 was not essentially different from what it continued to be through the eighteenth century. The conditions of admission were refreshingly simple. Those who were admitted must "be found expert in both the Greek and Latin grammar, as also skilful in construing and grammatically resolving both Latin and Greek authors and in making good and true Latin." This sufficed; and on this foundation was built the superstructure of what was then a liberal education, comprising some degree of training in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, physics and metaphysics, with possibly a little mathematics, and extensive practice of forensic disputation and other rhetorical exercises.

Certain general requirements in the official "Orders and Appointments," as the College Laws were at first styled, were doubtless "counsels of perfection," and not in reality effectual. Such was, for instance, the order that "No scholar shall use the English tongue in the College with his fellow-scholars, unless he be called to public exercise proper to be attended in the English tongue; but scholars in their chambers and when they are together shall talk Latin." It is a matter of tradition that this regulation was early a dead letter—not merely evaded by the use of mock Latin, but glaringly disregarded. So, again, the formal provision that "Every student shall exercise himself in reading Holy Scriptures by himself every day," takes for granted a higher universal grade of personal piety than the facts and conditions of undergraduate life entirely warrant.

Since Rector Pierson's death the teaching staff in Saybrook had consisted of a couple of young tutors, under the distant and infrequent supervision of the Rector *pro tempore,* Mr. Andrew of Milford; and on the transfer to New Haven it happened to be necessary to fill these tutorships with new appointees. One of those elected preferred to cast in his lot with the group of students who went to Wethersfield; and this left as the sole resident officer here, Samuel Johnson, a man destined to large success in mature life as the Apostle of Episcopacy in Connecticut, but then only two years from graduation and twenty years of age. But Parson Noyes, who had retired from the same office only the year before, after filling it with distinction, now consented to take charge for the coming year of the Senior class, which apparently consisted of only two members; leaving to Mr. Johnson a Junior class of eight (two of whom were

several years older than their tutor), and a Freshman class of two, besides a single Sophomore. And a somewhat similar scanty and uncertain attendance of students continued to be the experience for three years to come.

I have already referred in a general way to the leaders in the discussions of the trustees over the site of the College in 1716: on the one hand the Rev. John Davenport of Stamford, supported by Mr. Russel of Branford, Rector Andrew of Milford, Mr. Ruggles of Guilford, and Mr. Webb of Fairfield; and on the other hand the two Hartford ministers, Woodbridge and Buckingham; while the two Noyeses of Stonington and Lyme, though not counted in the original vote, were ultimately for New Haven.

Outside of the Board of Trustees, the question was to some extent involved with general Colony politics. Between the Eastern and Western sections of the Colony there was a growing competition for place and power; and in the present case the Western section as a rule took up vigorously the support of New Haven; while Hartford was led in consequence to ally itself for the time being with New London county, the principal constituent of the Eastern section. In the deliberations of the Upper House of the Assembly, or Governor's Council, Governor Saltonstall, who had active affiliation with both sections, as a former minister of New London, as well as a large landowner in his wife's right in Branford and New Haven, endeavored to hold the scales even between the contending parties, until the action of a clear majority justified him in throwing his influence on the Western side. On the same side were Jonathan Law, Judge of the New Haven county court, and some of the most active of the Assistants, including especially Judge John Alling of New Haven, and two prominent citizens of Hartford, Judge William Pitkin and Major Joseph Talcott, the latter of whom succeeded next to the governorship, and held the office for a longer period than has any one since. These two gentlemen, of the very highest standing in their own community, in a spirit of protest against local jealousies, and in order to maintain their position and influence in the colony at large, found it their duty in the present emergency to side with the New Haven party, against their militant fellow-townsmen.

One sequel of Major Talcott's breach with his pastor, Mr. Woodbridge, may be mentioned in connection with a further development of the College history. In the progress, two or three years later, of the fight against the establishment at New Haven, after the Saybrook people had been ordered by the Governor and Council to give up the College books and records, and had refused, a scheme

was devised for getting control of the Assembly by electing the Hartford ministers as Deputies, in the hope that they might shape legislation which should undo the New Haven settlement. The result was far different; Mr. Buckingham waived his election, and Mr. Woodbridge's right to sit in the House was at once challenged by a Fairfield Deputy, on the ground that he had defamed the Government by virtually charging the Upper House with theft and constructive murder in ordering such violent measures at Saybrook; and Major Talcott was cited as a witness to his pastor's defamatory charges. A voluminous record of Woodbridge's prosecution is on file in the State Library and further reveals his relations with Talcott, whom he endeavored to debar from the communion table because of his evidence in this case. The upshot was that Woodbridge did not sit in the Assembly, but signed an apology acceptable to the Lower House, though not to the Upper; the personal controversy was referred to a council from abroad, and in the end was accommodated on the basis of mutual forbearance.

It is pleasant, however, to remember that about the same time that reconciliation with his aggrieved parishioner was effected, that is, three years after the settlement at New Haven, Mr. Woodbridge resumed attendance on the meetings of the Trustees, and thenceforth took the honorable and conspicuous part in College affairs to which he was entitled by age and dignity. The breach in the friendly relations of the Trustees was thus healed; but the injury due to the detention of College property in Saybrook could never be fully repaired. The loss of books from the Library stored in the house of Squire Buckingham, the village justice, was not permanently serious; but the confiscation of the records of the proceedings of the Trustees from 1704 to 1716 will always remain an irreparable and seemingly indefensible detention and destruction.

In the discussion of a site, the advocates for New Haven were able to urge fairly that on the evidence of the annual tax lists this was now the chief town of the Colony; that it was especially well placed for direct communication by water as well as by land with both Boston and New York, and with the river and coast settlements of Connecticut as well; that the pecuniary encouragement here offered far exceeded that offered by any other locality; that the situation for a college house, facing the Green, was exceptionally favorable; while the natural advantages of soil and climate and a relatively low cost of living were crowning arguments. On the other hand, the Hartford malcontents claimed that they represented the ancient and central seat of government, with a ring of prosperous towns about it; and by the unnatural device of coupling New London

county with their own, as the alternate of the Western section, made out a larger aggregate both of population and of students in the school, while also urging against New Haven inaccessible remoteness, especially in view of the uncertainties of transportation by water in the winter season. These alleged disadvantages were bound to lessen with the passage of time; nor was their place likely to be supplied by any of greater weight; unless indeed New London preferred a claim of pre-eminence from having had since 1709 the only printing-press in the Colony,—a distinction which New Haven was not able to rival until 1754, nor Hartford until 1764.

The productions of the New London press had been hitherto of a purely matter-of-fact sort, including mainly official documents, such as Colony Acts and Laws, the Governor's Proclamations, the annual Election Sermons, the Saybrook Platform of Church Doctrine and Discipline, besides primers for children. For instance, in the year which we commemorate, the only known output of Timothy Green's press in New London is the Election Sermon preached that year by the Rev. Anthony Stoddard, of Woodbury; while the much more prolific presses of Boston and New York were printing such notable products from our standpoint as the original edition of Col. Benjamin Church's "History of King Philip's War," and a treatise on Infant Baptism, by the Rev Jonathan Dickinson, a Saybrook graduate of 1706, who by this token won the rank of the first Yale man to appear in print as an author.

But if we look across the Atlantic, the scantiness of the record of the same year in the older and richer field of British literature and history may serve to remind us how limited was still the horizon, not merely for the Colonies, but for all English-speaking peoples of that date. In October, 1716, the first of the Georges had been for two years on the throne, and though Great Britain was still in intermittent turmoil from Jacobite uprisings, the homesick King was absent on a six months' visit to his beloved Hanover, while the unattractive columns of the journals of the day are singularly devoid of interest to the student of two centuries later. Testing them by the standard of American news, the results are almost *nil*. For instance, *Mercurius Politicus,* the promising monthly periodical begun in May, 1716, under DeFoe's editorship, in its early numbers contained absolutely no reference to this quarter of the world; and from the weekly news-sheets near the date we celebrate, the only recoverable items of value for their bearing on American affairs are, one in the *Post Boy* of July 12, which locates Annapolis Royal in New England, and a second in a later issue of the same paper, which chronicles the departure of Colonel Shute on July 31 for "his

Government of New England," making the same territorial designation serve as an equivalent for Massachusetts which it had formerly used for Acadia.

The *Boston News Letter,* our only American paper for the same dates, is a like disappointment to any anxious gleaner for items of information. The two scanty weekly pages are occupied almost wholly with foreign despatches, reports of the movements of coasting vessels into and out of Boston harbor, and a few local advertisements, with otherwise an utter absence of personal and local items—the elements of success for a newspaper in later days.

Nor was 1716 eminent in the annals of British literary history. Among the publications of that year, all that can excite from any of us even the feeblest present interest are one volume of Pope's translation of the Iliad, and a pamphlet by John Dunton, a former transient inhabitant of Boston. Of the lights of the Augustan Age of Queen Anne, DeFoe, Swift, Addison and Steele were then in middle life; among the active spirits of the younger generation were Richardson, Pope, Gay and Bishop Butler; while Fielding, Johnson, Hume, and Sterne were not yet out of the nursery. Of their fellow-countrymen who were later to have any considerable American experience, George Berkeley, at the age of 32, was a college tutor, idling away his time in London; John Wesley had just entered his teens and Edward Braddock his majority; and George Whitefield was in his infancy.

Of the greater historical figures on the American stage, Increase Mather was now 77, and his son Cotton 53, and Jonathan Edwards a boy of 13. Benjamin Franklin and Jonathan Trumbull were children of ten and six respectively, and the rest of the leading participants in our revolutionary struggle were as yet unborn.

The story of 1716 is incomplete without some reference to the gifts of Governor Yale, which were directly induced by the connection of his family with New Haven. Yale's father had come here as a young man with his stepfather, Governor Eaton; but had migrated after three or four years to Massachusetts Bay, where his son Elihu was born; and thence returned to England. The friendly efforts of Jeremy Dummer, the Agent of Connecticut at the British Court, had brought before Governor Yale's notice as early as 1711 the struggling Collegiate School of Connecticut; and his timely suggestions were furthered and made fruitful in 1718 by a persuasive appeal from Cotton Mather. Mather, judging from the language of his diary, wrote purely of his own suggestion; and his letter resulted in the handsome gifts, a few months later, which caused the donor's name by its adoption here to become a familiar syllable, as we fondly hope, in the thoughts and speech of endless generations.

Wealthy patrons, whether British or American, were then rare and uncertain; and in default of this generous assistance the simple removal of the Collegiate School to New Haven would probably have had as its immediate result only a more tedious and precarious development, and a later flowering of many of its historic experiences and achievements. And, on the other hand, without the event of October, 1716, it is reasonably certain that there never could have been any *Yale* College, here or elsewhere, and that the host of loyal sons of Yale would have been marshaled under the auspices of some other name of inferior felicity.

I have outlined familiarly the salient points in the local setting of the event which Yale and New Haven have undertaken to commemorate at this anniversary; but it is hardly my province to dwell on the broader significance of the historic coming together of the Collegiate School of Connecticut and the mother-town of the ancient New Haven Colony. Time would fail me to do justice to even the conspicuous instances in these crowded centuries in which each of the two parties to this union has been distinctly the gainer by its combination with the other. In the case of the personal element only, how greatly have the development and the renown of New Haven been fostered by the adoption into its life of the stream of hundreds upon hundreds of educated men, apart from the officers of the College, who have taken up their abode here, subsequent to graduation; how much, for example, has been due to the new blood infused by such acquisitions as James Hillhouse and Eli Whitney, Jonathan Ingersoll and Simeon Baldwin, David Daggett and Leonard Bacon. And if the city has been strengthened by constant and varied accessions to its professional and civic and social life, with corresponding constancy and variety it has returned the gift. To cite again but a sample illustration, what appreciation of the achievements and aims of the University has been shown, in our own generation merely, by the resources placed at its disposal by such typical representatives of our best citizenship as (to name only a selection) Joseph E. Sheffield and Henry Farnam, Augustus R. Street and Oliver F. Winchester, Henry Bronson and Philip Marett, Augustus E. Lines and Edward M. Reed, Pierce N. Welch and Justus S. Hotchkiss.

The union of the town and the Collegiate School in 1716 was accomplished without profuseness of words or of display; and throughout the years the consolidation of their interests has gone on in quietness and sobriety. Both the city and the University may reasonably to-day review the result with evident and even enthusiastic demonstration, in devout and earnest gratitude and warm congratulations for the past, and with confident and eager hope for the future.

STUDENT LIFE AT YALE COLLEGE UNDER THE FIRST PRESIDENT DWIGHT (1795-1817).

[From the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1917. Published 1918.]

At the meeting of this Society in April, 1910, our associate, Mr. Hill, contributed an illuminating paper on "Life at Harvard a Century Ago, as illustrated by the letters and papers of Stephen Salisbury, of the Class of 1817." I shall make no attempt to follow the lines of Mr. Hill's study, or to compare the form or spirit of the two institutions; but I shall be satisfied if I can give a suggestion of the ordinary setting of life in my own Alma Mater upwards of a century ago, and make more real the somewhat rustic figure of the homespun youth who then cultivated literature at New Haven on a little oatmeal.

The Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles, who had filled with some renown for seventeen years the Yale Presidency, died, after a very brief illness during the spring recess, on May 12, 1795. Although only in his sixty-eighth year, and unusually active, he had long been regarded by his pupils as a man of venerable age, partly from his formal manner and dress, as well as from his insistence on a rigid observance of the social and academic distinctions of a past age which were somewhat out of date in the new Republic.

On the 25th of June, six weeks after his funeral, the Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight, pastor of a secluded country church on Greenfield Hill, in Fairfield, twenty miles distant, a grandson of Jonathan Edwards, and a graduate and former tutor of the College, now forty-three years of age, and thus twenty-five years President Stiles's junior, was elected to the vacant office. He accepted the call in August, and was inaugurated on Tuesday, the 8th of September, the day before the annual Commencement.

Of the inauguration ceremonies we have a brief record in the Diary of an interested spectator, afterwards the Rev. Dr. John Pierce, of Brookline, Massachusetts, then two years out of Harvard and twenty-two years of age, who notes that the new President was required to give public assent to the Saybrook Platform of Doctrine and Discipline, after which he delivered a Latin address, on the Benefits of Society.

The same kindly observer describes the illumination of the College buildings in the evening, with eight candles in each window, and a parade of the students accompanied by bands of music from half past seven to nine, and the ushering in of Commencement Day at sunrise on Wednesday with the firing of cannon and ringing of bells. He attends the exercises of graduation in the First Church, a wooden building about forty years old, which stood nearly on the site of the present Centre Church on the Public Green, and mentions the unusual decorum, as it seemed to him, on that occasion, especially that there was no clapping. He is struck with the speakers' use of more gestures than are common at Cambridge; and also remarks on Dr. Dwight's repeated blunders in reciting the brief Latin formula for conferring degrees,—slips which would have mortified the late President beyond measure. As examples of the class of subjects exhibited on such occasions, it may be recalled that the programme included a Dissertation on "The Benefits of Theatrical Establishments," by John Adams, afterwards for many years the successful Principal of Phillips Academy, Andover, and an Oration on "Female Education," by Jeremiah Day, the future Professor and President of Yale.

I referred just now to the College buildings. These were, first, the two dormitories, uniform parallelograms, of thirty-two rooms each, called "The Old College" and "The New,"—that is, the still extant Connecticut Hall, built about 1753, and Union Hall or South College, then just completed, but removed in 1893 to make room for Vanderbilt Hall. Between these two stood the Chapel (afterwards known as the Athenæum, and also removed in 1893), which was then equipped with steeple and bell, and contained on the upper floor the Library, of perhaps 4,000 volumes, and in the rear of Connecticut Hall a one-story dining-hall and kitchen, later used as a chemical laboratory, and taken down in 1888.

In this last building all the students, except a few specially excused, took their meals in Commons, a somewhat barbarous and insanitary as well as unpopular institution, where wholesale disorders were so far as possible discouraged by the presence of unhappy tutors feeding on elevated platforms, and by such devices as the exclusive use of pewter instead of glass and china. It was found, nevertheless, that a majority of the ordinary cases of College discipline originated in the Hall, and in connection with certain menial services required of the students, such as the shelling of peas in their season for the use of the cooks; one minor rebellion, for instance, is on record, caused by an attempt to exact the shelling of beans also, in addition to the traditional requirement.

The two dormitories were not quite capacious enough to house all the undergraduates and a few resident graduates; and indeed that goal is still unattained, though now definitely promised.

No appropriate rooms for lectures and recitations were provided, until a new hall, called the Connecticut Lyceum, was erected under Dr. Dwight, in 1803; before that date, when an entire class assembled, the Chapel had to be used, with the lecturer or instructor in the pulpit, and the same room was also apparently required wholly or mainly for the recitations of the Senior Class, as were the Hall and Library for the two divisions of the Juniors and of the Sophomores, while the two divisions of Freshmen were probably usually disposed of in the ordinary living rooms of their Tutors.

After regular recitation-rooms were available in the Lyceum, each one of these was also utilized as a domicil for two or three needy students, who in compensation were supposed to tend the hearth-fires, and sweep and dust the premises, and this arrangement continued for many college generations.

At one end of Connecticut Hall, or (later) on the upper floor of the Chapel, was an apparatus-room, in which was stored a heterogeneous collection of objects, ranging in value from such essentials as a telescope, an air-pump, and an electrical machine, down to a quadrant and a magic lantern. Another apartment, called the Museum, contained (besides a few valuable portraits) a very miscellaneous assortment of curiosities, impressive perhaps to a raw Freshman, and appealing to the antiquarian proclivities of President Stiles, but which under the more practical management of President Dwight and Professor Day was discreetly loaned to the proprietor of a local exhibition, and never reclaimed; this comprised an outlandish medley of paleontological specimens, stuffed animals, Indian, Chinese, and other articles of dress and furniture, a few such monstrosities as a two-headed calf and a one-eyed pig, and such traditional or historical relics as a leaf from the tomb of Vergil.

On the ground-floor of Connecticut Hall another important institution was housed, the buttery, where a recent graduate, as College Butler, dispensed to faculty and students a variety of welcome adjuncts to the functions of social life in bachelor quarters. He seems to have dealt mainly in the softer drinks, such as cider, beer, ale, porter, mead, and metheglin,—with which were offered as condiments raisins, almonds, and native nuts, loaf sugar, lemons, ginger, honey, eggs, biscuits, cakes, and pies. Tobacco, pipes, and cigars were also main items in his stock, and apples, pears, peaches, and watermelons, in their season. In addition, pitchers, bowls, mugs, decanters, glasses, and corkscrews; a few toilet articles, like wash

balls (or soap), pomatum, and black ball (for shoes); writing materials, paper, quills, and wafers; and with this enumeration we have probably nearly exhausted the butler's stock in trade.

The students' chambers were, it is safe to assert, sparsely furnished, though I can quote no inventories in evidence. Hearth-fires being universal required a large supply of wood, which was in the earlier days sawed and split by the boys themselves, and carried by them to their rooms; public sentiment seems to have looked upon the hiring of servants for such purposes as an indication of effeminacy, though later it became more usual.

A President's House had been built in 1722 near the College plot, on the site of what has recently been known as College Street Hall; but so dilapidated had this become that steps were now taken for the provision of a satisfactory substitute on land purchased for the purpose, adjoining the other College land to the northward, on the present site of Farnam Hall. Two or three inferior buildings, the town almshouse, the county jail, a barber's shop, and the like, lingered for a time on the newly acquired territory.

Dr. Dwight found in office but one Professor, Josiah Meigs, a versatile young lawyer and editor, who had just been installed on an annual appointment in the chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; and a staff of three tutors, the most notable of whom was James Gould, long the head of the well-known Litchfield Law School. Professor Meigs had been a favorite of Dr. Stiles, and was a man of solid attainments; but he was unfortunately a rabid and outspoken anti-Federalist, and consequently a thorn in the flesh to Dr. Dwight, who succeeded after a few years in securing his transfer to another honorable position, the presidency of the new University of Georgia. Dr. Dwight, it need hardly be explained, was an ardent Federalist, in contrast to his renegade first cousin, Aaron Burr; and the Yale undergraduates were with comparatively few exceptions strongly on the same side.

The presidency thus inaugurated continued for twenty-one and one-half years, or until Dr. Dwight's death in January, 1817. In the meantime the number of students in attendance had nearly doubled (rising from about 150 to about 275), for whom six tutors had become necessary, besides three young professors, a notable trio of Dr. Dwight's own selection, Jeremiah Day, Benjamin Silliman, and James L. Kingsley, who continued in active official relation to the College for sixty-seven, fifty-four, and fifty years respectively. A Professor of Law was also appointed (in 1802). who held office for a few years; but his duties were limited to the delivery of a dozen lectures to each Senior Class.

Meantime the College buildings were increased by the erection of the Lyceum, which provided two stories of recitation-rooms, an underground chemical laboratory, and on the third floor shelf-room in artistically planned alcoves for the Library; also Berkeley Hall, a third dormitory, ultimately known as North Middle College; a President's house; and a large building (originally designed as a hotel) for the Medical School, which was established, with a staff of four professors, in 1813.

The last surviving graduate of that era died over a quarter of a century ago, but occasional access to old diaries and letters and account-books has made it possible to form some conclusions about the spirit and details of the life under "Pope Dwight," as the Democrats of his day irreverently called him.

It goes almost without saying that the relations between Faculty and students were much more reserved and formal than in the century since. President Dwight throughout his administration filled the office of College preacher, and no one at Yale has exercised a larger influence in that relation. Doubtless there were many exceptions; but abundant testimony remains to the remarkable attention with which he was followed by his volatile audience, and the unparalleled extent to which he swayed their hearts and wills. In appreciation of this sphere of influence it is only fair to remember, moreover, under what a handicap every preacher of that date labored, from the circumstance that no house of worship could be warmed in winter. One is haunted by the uncouth picture drawn by a Connecticut youth who listened to Dr. Dwight, of his appearence in the pulpit, "wrapped in a heavy brown great-coat, with three or four broad capes, and a stout belt closely buttoned around his waist," and with his hands encased in woolen mittens.

Besides his power as a preacher, Dr. Dwight made a strong impression on the Senior Class by his criticisms of their compositions, or so-called "dissertations," and his arguments given as decisions to sections (usually of eight persons) after their weekly disputes before him, which were long regarded as among the most essential and valuable parts of the College training. One of his pupils afterwards published his stenographic report of some of these decisions, which became a popular *vade mecum* for debaters in subsequent College generations. The topics considered are by no means even now out of date, nor have the most of Dr. Dwight's reasonings lost their power. He also met the entire Senior Class five days in the week throughout the year, for a recitation and lecture of two hours in either Logic, Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy, or Divinity; and his pupils were constantly impressed by his marked literary and oratorical skill, his keen sense of natural

beauty, and his discriminating observance and criticism of differing types of human nature.

The custom of disputes in small sections before a College officer, who afterwards gave judgment on the questions debated, prevailed also in the Junior Class; as an instance of this a diary of a member of the Class of 1803 exhibits Tutor (afterwards Professor) Silliman in his exercise of that rôle. He had just been admitted to the New Haven bar, and was not unwilling to appear as an ardent politician. Thus the question, "Ought Foreigners to be admitted to public office?" was decided in the negative by Mr. Silliman, who totally disapproved such admission. To support his decision "he instanced," says the diarist, "some of those characters who have lately been admitted to civil offices, such as Gallatin [the Swiss Secretary of the Treasury], Mc Kean [Governor of Pennsylvania, of Irish parentage], Dallas [United States District Attorney, born in Jamaica], etc., whose conduct as civil officers of state ought to be execrated by every true American." Posterity has not confirmed the tutor's partisan judgment of 1801.

A month later the question, "Ought the Slaves of the United States to be Immediately Emancipated?" was decided by him in the negative; as was also the question, "Ought the President of the United States to turn out officers on account of their political principles?" The fact that Thomas Jefferson had just become President furnishes the clue to the last decision.

Another question resolved in the negative before the same class (as it was ten years later by President Dwight) was this, "Ought foreign emigration to be encouraged by the United States?"—the chief argument being that none but corrupted and scapegallows fellows would ever emigrate.

The question, "Are novels beneficial?" received a negative answer, as did the kindred one, "Are theatres beneficial?" under President Dwight.

A feature of student etiquette long since outgrown was the exaggerated and plainly factitious profession of regard and veneration for individual members of the Faculty. As an instance I quote from a letter of another of the Class of 1803 to a classmate.

> When we come to bid adieu to our fond Tutors Marsh and Silliman, human nature has to strugle with a still greater load of misery. To bid them farewell is too much for my feeble frame to endure. Already does the tear of sympathy start in my eye while I write, and my hand is already agitated, nay my whole frame is convulsed and shocked to its centre at the painful idea of our parting. May you be enabled to bear up under these trying mortifications and recollect the affection which you have always seen conspicuous in the amiable and greatly beloved Silliman.

In estimating such an outburst, it is fair to remember that down to 1829 each of the two alphabetical sections into which a class was divided at the beginning of the Freshman year was placed under a Tutor who conducted all the recitations, declamations, compositions and disputes of his section up to the close of the Junior year, provided he continued in office for that period; and this arrangement increased vastly his personal influence. We should also remember, what we have doubtless all noticed who are familiar with such literature, that many of the letters exchanged by college youths of those days were of the nature of exercises in polite composition, and not the simple expression of natural feeling. In a similar fashion, most of the contributions to the literary periodicals which began to flourish at Yale during Dr. Dwight's presidency are not at all concerned with the occurrences of student life, and add nothing to our knowledge of the real interests of the writers, but merely serve as more or less elegant exercises in composition and rhetoric.

To recur to relations with the Faculty:—the custom which had come down from an early period of giving valuable presents to College officers when passing from under their instruction, still prevailed. This finally proved in operation so burdensome, as well as invidious, that it was broken up by a law of the Faculty about 1840. A specimen of the language thought suitable for such communications may be seen in this extract from a letter sent by a part of the Class of 1802 to Tutor Jeremiah Day when, at the age of twenty-eight, he was obliged to leave College by serious ill health, though he finally survived to the age of ninety-four.

> It having pleased Providence to dissolve, a little prematurely, the connection which to our great advantage has long existed between us, the first division of the Junior Class embrace this opportunity of tendering to you the tribute of their cordial respect and veneration. To those whose minds are not impervious to the sentiments of tenderness and feeling, the moment of separation from a beloved object is beyond expression distressful. Placed as we are in this situation, and about to take our leave of you, at least for a considerable time, we are overwhelmed with a flood of emotions which no language can express. . . .
>
> Suffer us, Sir, on this occasion to request your acceptance of the enclosed sum, as a testimony of our gratitude and affection.

The amount and character of required study at that day were to our notions painfully inadequate. Pike's Arithmetic, introduced under President Stiles, was still a textbook for Sophomores or Freshmen, and both Juniors and Sophomores exercised their budding wits on Guthrie's Geography, the author of which died as long before as 1770. There were three regular daily recita-

tions, but public declamations in the Chapel by representatives of each of the four classes before the full student body, were substituted on Saturday or Wednesday afternoons. Some option in subjects of study was allowed in the upper years; thus, in 1801, the Juniors decided by vote against the introduction of the study of Xenophon for two hours a week, and in 1805 the corresponding class voted down a proposition to study Spherical Geometry, but those who desired were allowed to substitute it for Homer.

Occasional holidays were not uncommon. State Thanksgivings and Fasts were observed with two full Chapel services as on Sundays. Sometimes, but rarely, the two upper classes, who enjoyed in general a good deal of extra freedom, were excused from all but one recitation or lecture on Christmas Day. Similar latitude was granted on Election Day, a special annual occasion of popular festivity, when the election of State officials was held in the Middle Brick meetinghouse, and droves of country folk flocked into town to patronize the booths which lined the borders of the Green. I note also that to attend a trial at the Court House of special interest an entire class was sometimes excused from recitations; and in one instance apparently all the College afternoon exercises were omitted for a like reason.

It should also be mentioned that in Dr. Dwight's time, as in the earlier days, there was extreme laxity in enforcing the continuous residence of the students. For various reasons, especially in connection with the need of earning money, long absences were frequent in addition to those resulting from illness and those required in the course of discipline.

The obligation of attendance on daily recitations, which was originally by law avoidable by paying a petty fine, seems also to have been taken very lightly. For example, here is a partial record of the first four days of Junior year, from the diary of a member of the Class of 1803:

> Oct. 21. Arrived at N. Haven about noon . . Prayers this evening, but I did not attend on account of my business.
>
> Oct. 22. Being employed in moving my furniture, I did not attend the college exercises, except prayers at evening.
>
> Oct. 23. Attended prayers and recitation in the morning, when I recited Tully de Oratore for the first time; recited the same at noon likewise. In the afternoon being anxious to attend the [General] Assembly, I omitted recitation. Attended prayers at evening.
>
> Oct. 24. Attended prayers and recitation in the morning. Attended the Assembly in the forenoon and omitted a recitation in Greek . . Evening attended prayers.

Again, Sunday,

Dec. 27. Absent from meeting with leave. Wrote a dispute and read 15 chapters in the bible.

Dec. 28. Absent from recitations and prayers in the morning on account of writing a letter.

Another diarist gives a detailed statement of a few days in his Senior year, 1806, in substance as follows:

Sunday, March 30. Rose at 5.45. Walked till prayers. Breakfast at 8. Read Bible, 8.30 to 10.30. Chapel service, 10.30 to 12. Walked till dinner, at 12.30. Walked till 1.30. Read Job to 2. Chapel, 2 to 4. Read Speech by Randolph to 5.20. Prayers. Tea. Walked till 7. Read chapter in Job. Visits & visitors to 9. Read, 9 to 9.30. Wrote diary. Retired.

Monday, March 31. Rose at 5.30. Walked till prayers. Walked again. Read Greek Testament, 7 to 8 [instead of recitation?] Breakfast 8 to 8.30. Read, 8.30 to 9. Disputes, 9 to 10. Read New Testament, 10 to 11. Disputes 11-12.30. Walked. Dinner. Read in Horace's Satires, 2.20 to 4. Walked and read Greek grammar, 4 to 4.45. Prayers. Supper. Cut capers till 9. Read in Job, 9 to 10. Retired.

Tuesday, April 1. Rose at 6. Dressed, shaved, walked, breakfast, &c., to 8.30. Read, 8.30 to 9. Lecture on meteors, 9 to 10. Read, 10 to 11. Recited Locke, walked, & dined, till 1.30. Read in Testament & Horace, &c., to 4.30. Prayers, Supper. Read Horace, 7.20 to 7.45. Visitors till 10.30.

Wednesday, April 2. Rose before 6. Walked, prayers, &c., to 7. Read Testament, 7 to 8. Breakfast. Read Testament, 8.30 to 9. Disputes, 9 to 10. Read Horace, 10 to 11. Disputes, 11 to 12.30. Did nothing till dinner. Read Horace, 1.40 to 3. Barber, errands, &c., 3 to 4.30. Prayers. Supper. Post Office. Read Job, 7.30 to 8.30. Walked, 8.30 to 9.25.

Thursday, April 3. Rose at 6. Prayers, Walked. Breakfast. Post Office. Read Locke, 8.30 to 9. Lecture on Philosophy, 9 to 10. Read Locke, 10 to 11. Recitation. Errands. Dinner. Making accounts & reading, 1.30 to 4. Walked. Prayers. Tea. Visiting & visitors to 9. Read Psalms, 9 to 10.

This extract may suffice, though the diarist continues his record for an entire week, his object being to see how much time he spends in study; and he concludes that his average is three and three-quarters hours a day.

Another bit of testimony, given a few months later by Samuel F. B. Morse, then a Freshman, in a letter to his parents, was intended to prove that his time was entirely taken up with study. He says:

In the morning I must rise at five o'clock to attend prayers, and (immediately after) recitation; then I must breakfast, and begin to study from eight o'clock till eleven; then recite my forenoon's lesson, which takes me an hour. At twelve I must study French till one, which is dinner-time. Directly after dinner I must recite French (of course an extra study) to Monsieur Value till two o'clock, then begin to study my afternoon's lesson and recite it at five. Immediately after recitation I must study another French lesson to recite at seven in the evening; come home at nine o'clock and study my morning's lesson until ten, eleven, and sometimes twelve o'clock, and by that time I am prepared to sleep.

In accordance with the spirit of the age, as well as from his own controlling purpose, there was under Dr. Dwight a decided broadening of the range of studies. This was evident most notably in the addition under Professor Silliman of chemistry, geology, and mineralogy, and also in greater attention to mathematics and natural philosophy (or physics), and in the gradual introduction of systematic training in metaphysics, political science, rhetoric, and modern languages.

As has already been shown, the time was not wholly devoted to study (or "reading," so called); and prominent among other agencies for training in the development of power in composition and debate were the weekly meetings of the two open societies, Linonia and the Brothers in Unity, between which the whole body of students was divided. Smaller groups found their special affinities in the Phi Beta Kappa, restricted to the best scholars, and a continually shifting number of other fraternities, social, literary, musical, and religious.

There were daily amusements, also, of all sorts, lawful and unlawful. Dancing, card-playing, wine-drinking, and attendance at or participation in dramatic performances were forbidden by the college laws; but none the less, whether by exceptional allowance or at risk of discipline, a good deal of such indulgence went on. The great social event of the year was the Commencement Ball, and next to that a Ball in connection with the Junior Exhibition, for both of which events engraved cards of invitation were formally sent out, an otherwise undreamed of bit of extravagance.

Dramatic pieces, under the modest name of "Colloquies," which is still retained, like the contemporary name of "Disputes," as a distinctive title on the College Scheme of Honors, were recited at the quarterly exhibitions of the upper classes, and more fullblown plays were also regularly given at the occasional semi-public celebrations held by the various societies, where fleeting reputations by amateur actors were enjoyed then as now. Our friends the diarists make it evident that cards and backgammon absorbed a good deal of time; and we may be surprised to find how much wine-drinking went on in College rooms. Here is a fair example, taken from the journal kept by Benjamin Silliman, one of the most decorous of youths, in November of his Senior year:

> In the beginning of the evening I went with a member of my class to look at the planet Jupiter through the large telescope from the Museum, which with his four moons is very easily discovered. I returned from the Museum, and had a call to go to Bacon's room, to help despatch some wine; which I very readily obeyed, and I presume acted my part faithfully. I then returned to my own room, where I found Lynde; and soon after Bishop

came in, and soon after him Strong. We drank a few glasses of wine, and had some sprightly conversation, &c. They all returned about nine.

With this compare also a letter quoted in the recent life of Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, addressed by him to his parents in the first term of Freshman year, when he was about fourteen and one-half years old, asking for a special sum of money to equip his room properly with brandy, wine, and cigars; naturally the Rev. Dr. Morse objected decidedly to this item in his son's expenses. But nothing of the sort need surprise us in the days when a Faculty punch bowl was part of the regular furniture of the President's office, and when such a souvenir of undergraduate life is still extant as a portly bottle of rum, with the legend "Class of 1802" molten into the glass on one side.

The subject of college expenses is illustrated by the account-books of various students. The main items, fixed by law and paid into the College Treasury, covered tuition; rent, and sweeping in dormitories and recitation-rooms; board in commons, with the steward's salary; and from time to time what were called "contingencies," including, for instance, such charges as assessments for cleaning up the College yard in the Spring, or for printing catalogues and monitors' bills, or for the employment of what we should call a detective, under the more definite name of "thief-catcher," or for the equipment of an "asylum" or infirmary.

The regular charges were about doubled under the Dwight administration,—tuition rising from sixteen to thirty-three dollars a year, and room rent from $3.33 a quarter in the Old College, or $5.33 in the New, to a uniform rate of $7.32. In comparison with the modern scale of prices such figures seem modest enough; and one further example may suffice. Daniel Mulford entered as a Junior after the year had opened in 1804, and secured a room with one of the class, who had intended to live alone, but took him in, and charged him, as Mulford's Diary records, twelve and one-half cents a week.

There were also voluntary contributions collected by subscription for such purposes as fireworks and extra music at Commencement (in one early instance amounting to over £50), for curtains for shading the Chapel windows, and for various class objects. At the same time there was a continual and honest effort on the part of the authorities to keep down extravagant expenditure at Commencement, as on all other public or semi-public occasions.

The amount ordinarily expended by an undergraduate who practiced economy was very moderate.

In 1803 Professor Silliman writes to an inquirer that:

The necessary expenses, exclusive of clothing, traveling expenses in vacation, and pocket-money do not exceed $200 per annum. A New-England youth oftens lives within $250, including *all* his expenses, and few of them exceed $300; but I am disposed to think none of the Southern young gentlemen spend less than $400, and some of them much more. The Southern youth ought not to spend more than $400. This is sufficient for every purpose of ease, utility, or dignity; they will necessarily spend somewhat more than the Northern youth as being insulated from their friends & remote from their Country.

At his entrance upon office Dr. Dwight urgently favored a more democratic organization of the College community than had been the custom. In particular, he proposed that the duty of Freshmen to go on errands for upper classmen, and the prerogative of Seniors to inspect and regulate the manners and morals of Freshmen, be abrogated. An earnest protest against such a sweeping subversion of ancient privilege, signed by the Professor and Tutors, is still extant, which advocates the retention of the rule of subordination, since "Freshmen being a great part of them rude, from rude towns and families, and set at once free from parental restraint, ever will assume a haughtiness and importance, and learn vices, which the few instructors of a college can never properly moderate and suppress." The President prevailed to the extent that the right of sending Freshmen on errands was taken away from Sophomores, and that Seniors lost the right of supervising and disciplining Freshmen. At the same time was swept away the time-honored regulation that no Freshman might wear a hat on college grounds within ten rods of the President, within eight rods of a Professor, or within six rods of a Tutor.

The old exactions of petty fines for absence (two cents) and for tardiness (one cent) at Chapel services and at recitations were left on the books, though perhaps not thoroughly enforced; as also the like penalty for the absence of a student from his room during study hours, recreation being confined to half an hour after breakfast, an hour and a half after dinner, and from prayers to 9 o'clock in the evening.

Of similar strictness were the provisions for Sunday observance by the students, which included not only morning and evening prayers and forenoon and afternoon worship (an order which remained in full force until 1859), but also a prohibition of their profaning the day, among other things, by walking abroad, or by unnecessary absence from their rooms on Sundays, or on Saturday evenings, when the Sabbath began, or by admitting to their rooms other students or strangers,—provisions which were certainly not obsolete, though with equal certainty constantly violated; as was

also the prohibition of walking or driving more than two miles from the College, even on a week-day, without leave of one of the officers.

Remembering the large part that outdoor sports play in the life of the modern collegian, it is surprising that the echoes of the past bring so little that bears distinctly on the corresponding activities of the students of those distant generations. A print of Yale College in 1807, the work of a well-known New Haven engraver, Amos Doolittle, shows in the foreground a game of football on the Public Green played by students wearing tall hats, swallow-tail coats, and knee-breeches, with President Dwight himself occupying the sidewalk, in the full majesty of broad-brimmed beaver and academic gown.

In Dr. Stiles's day the use of caps and gowns by undergraduates had been encouraged; but as from economical motives the gowns seem to have been made of calico, they can hardly have been effective in detail or at close range. Besides football there are also traces of wicket, a popular outdoor game in Connecticut, as a favorite student recreation; while sailing on the harbor and swimming from the nearby shores are shown to have been common by monitory provisions in the College statutes.

At intervals the formation of companies for military drill and naval practice among the students was a favorite pastime; but however natural the expressions of patriotic sentiment, the practice was not without risk of abuse. Witness, for instance, the celebration on July 4, 1801, when a barrel of wine was mounted on a table at dinner in the Hall, and no one was expected to leave until the barrel had been emptied.

My object is attained, if I leave my story here, with this fleeting glimpse at the conditions of life in a typical New England College, of the generation which furnished the educated men who still lingered on the stage when the oldest of us were young.

This particular group of Yale students was not highly distinguished, either in capacities or achievements. The names of Benjamin Silliman, Lyman Beecher, John C. Calhoun, Fenimore Cooper, S. F. B. Morse, and James G. Percival, are perhaps as well-known to-day as any half-dozen of the number; but viewing them comprehensively the record of President Dwight's eleven or twelve hundred pupils for wide and honorable if not brilliant usefulness is one with which any master of men might justly be content.

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WRITTEN OR EDITED BY

F. B. DEXTER

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